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CORRESPONDENCE  
OF THE  
AMERICAN REVOLUTION.  
VOL. II.





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CORRESPONDENCE  
OF THE  
AMERICAN REVOLUTION;  
BEING  
LETTERS OF EMINENT MEN  
TO  
GEORGE WASHINGTON,  
FROM  
THE TIME OF HIS TAKING COMMAND OF THE ARMY  
TO  
THE END OF HIS PRESIDENCY.

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EDITED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS  
BY JARED SPARKS.

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VOLUME II.

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CORRESPONDENCE

RELATING TO THE

AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

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FROM THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Yorktown, 9 October, 1777.

SIR,

It is with the highest pleasure I comply with the order of Congress, in conveying to you the inclosed resolve, expressing the thanks of that body to you for the wise and well-concerted attack upon the enemy, near Germantown, on the 4th instant, and also to the officers and soldiers for their brave exertions on that occasion; and I must request you will communicate to them the distinguished mark of the approbation of their country.

It is indeed true, that the best designs and boldest efforts may sometimes fail of success, through unforeseen incidents, yet is it a source of satisfaction to reflect, in such instances, that every thing has been done to insure success, that human wisdom could devise. Something must still be left to fortune. It is not in mortals to command success. But permit me to say, Sir, you have done more on this occasion; you have deserved it.

Wishing, with the utmost sincerity, that your great

and vigorous exertions in the cause of freedom and your country may be crowned with victory. I have the honor to be, with perfect esteem and respect, Sir,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

JOHN HANCOCK, *President.*

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Yorktown, 9 October, 1777.

SIR,

The absolute necessity of cutting off all supplies and intelligence from the enemy, in and near the city of Philadelphia, and thereby preventing any intercourse between them and the disaffected in the State of Pennsylvania and elsewhere, has induced the Congress to adopt the inclosed resolves, in hopes, if possible, to put an effectual stop to a practice so extremely dangerous to the cause of America. They have, for this end, authorized you to sentence, by court-martial, any person convicted of either of the above-mentioned offences, or of acting as a guide or pilot, to suffer death, or such other punishment as may be thought adequate, provided he is taken within thirty miles of any town in Pennsylvania, Jersey, or Delaware, that is in possession of the enemy. They have also recommended to the good people of this and the other States to be vigilant in apprehending and securing all such persons as may be caught in the violation of the inclosed resolves, to which I beg leave to refer your attention.

Your favor of the 5th instant was duly received, and immediately laid before Congress. I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, Sir,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

JOHN HANCOCK, *President.*



FROM THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Yorktown, 12 October, 1777.

SIR,

I have nothing in charge from Congress, at this time, but to transmit the inclosed resolves, and to request your attention to them.

The information that the enemy have, at different times, compelled our troops, who are prisoners with them, to labor, and that a number are at this time actually engaged in throwing up some works at and near Kensington, is of such a nature that Congress think it incumbent on them to inquire into the truth of it. They have, therefore, directed that a flag be immediately despatched to General Howe, to know whether there is any foundation for the report; and I am to request you will send a flag for this purpose as soon as you conveniently can. M. Le Balme having desired leave of Congress to resign his commission as Inspector of the cavalry, they have accordingly complied with his request. I have the honor to be, with the utmost respect, Sir,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

JOHN HANCOCK, *President*.

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FROM COLONEL CHRISTOPHER GREENE.

Fort at Red Bank, 14 October, 1777.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

I arrived here on Saturday last with my regiment. They were much fatigued with the march, as I forced thirty-five miles one day. They are now in high spirits, and go to their duty with the greatest cheer-

follows: "The enclosed return shows our strength. I have found it necessary to construct the fort, but it is now too large for our numbers, as we have very little to expect from the militia.

I saw General Newcomb last evening. He informs me that the small number now on duty expect to return home in a day or two; those that relieve them expect to be relieved in three days. The General thinks your Excellency's intentions were, for the militia only to help complete the fort; after that, to fall on the rear of the enemy, in case of an attack. Should we be attacked, they must be so scattered as to be able to give us little or no assistance.

The strength of the navy, and of Fort Mifflin, your Excellency will have by the express who bears this, from the officers commanding them. They are certainly very weak for so important a post. I have already, and shall still give them all the assistance in my power. Could your Excellency give us the assistance of Colonel Angell's regiment, I doubt not this post would be secure, without dependence on militia. If they are to be relieved in the manner I understand they are, it is my opinion they will do us no service. General Newcomb gives very little encouragement of any to supply the place of those that are going off the ground. Could we be reënforced, we probably might frustrate the enemy's designs in three batteries they are erecting against Fort Mifflin, and so near as to do much injury when opened.

I find it necessary, for the security of the post, to keep my men all on fatigue daily. This I doubt will cause them to be less spirited in action, if I should be under the necessity to continue it, which must be the case, unless I am reënforced. The post I have in

charge I am determined to defend, with the small number I command, to the last extremity; yet I doubt my number is much too small to answer your Excellency's expectations. I am, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

CHRISTOPHER GREENE.

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FROM MAJOR-GENERAL PUTNAM.

Fishkill, 16 October, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL,

I have been honored with the receipt of your two favors of the 8th. and imagine before this you have received mine of the same date, containing the disagreeable intelligence of the loss of Fort Montgomery, after a most spirited defence, and of our evacuating Peekskill in consequence thereof. I congratulate you on the bravery of your troops in attacking and putting to flight the British army, and regret the unfavorable circumstance that prevented its terminating in a complete victory.

Last Monday, General Parsons, with about two thousand troops, marched down and took possession of Peekskill and the passes in the Highlands. He has taken a number of cattle, horses, and sheep, that were collected by the enemy. The enemy have burnt the buildings and barracks at the Village,\* and several dwelling-houses at Peekskill. They have demolished Forts Montgomery and Constitution, and are repairing Fort Clinton. Yesterday, about forty sail passed

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\* The Continental Village, between Peekskill and the Highlands, where military stores had been deposited.

up the river, crowded with troops, and are now at anchor above Poughkeepsie, the wind not favoring. We were on our march after them, when I met the agreeable intelligence of the surrender of General Burgoyne and his army, as prisoners of war, a copy of which is inclosed; and thereupon I do most sincerely congratulate your Excellency.

I have halted my troops, and am now considering what ought to be my next movement. I have sent to General Clinton for his opinion on the subject, and ordered General Parsons to spare no pains to find the situation and strength of the garrison at King's Bridge, in order to direct my future operations most advantageously. I have about six thousand troops, who are chiefly militia. I understand that General Campbell was killed at Fort Montgomery,\* and several field-officers, and others of inferior rank.

The enemy's loss, by the last accounts I have been able to get, is very considerable; not less than a thousand. The two Continental frigates, and the row-galley which lay above Fort Montgomery, were burnt, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy, for which I am very sorry, as one, I believe, might have been saved.

I have the unhappiness to inform you, that Mrs. Putnam, after a long and tedious illness, departed this life last Tuesday night. With the highest esteem and respect, I am, dear Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

ISRAEL PUTNAM.

\* Here is a mistake in regard to the identity of the person. Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, of the British army, and not General Campbell, was killed in the assault on Fort Montgomery. See Washington's Writings, Vol. V. p. 105.



FROM LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SAMUEL SMITH.

Fort Mifflin, 16 October, 1777;  
5 o'clock, P. M.

SIR,

The enemy have opened three batteries on us. One, in front of the pest-houses, which, with Precache's, rakes the whole garrison, from whence they throw red-hot balls, as yet without success. Another, in rear of our north-west block-house, in which they have some royals, an eight-inch howitzer, one piece of artillery, twelve-pounder. I believe, the other, in rear of the mud-battery, in which, as yet, they have but one eight-inch howitzer; but it is lengthened so as to mount a pair of cannon. The large battery, on the height to the left of Guyer's house, is not yet opened; they have staked out a large piece of work to the left of that, and thrown up some dirt.

What their intentions are by that, I cannot tell; but I am of opinion they will not attempt any thing effectual until their shipping opens the *chemin-de-frise*, and then make the attack all together. My reason is, that they relieve the party here from time to time, which I am convinced is not more on Province Island than five hundred, and which agrees with the number said to have been sent from Germantown. Certain I am, we have a new set of men. Their men are so detached from each other that I think it would not be a difficult matter to raise our siege by the Blue Bell. One party, the largest, extends from Guyer's house, a quarter of a mile to our left, in barns; the other, opposite to our rear; and the other, about the pest-houses. We might make a diversion from this garrison. Could we once oblige them to raise the siege, I am persuaded they have met with so many difficulties, they would not again attempt it.

The shipping are very busy endeavouring to raise the *decrements*. What success they have had, we know not. However, if undisturbed (which is the case), it must at length be effected. Want of ammunition obliges us to leave them undisturbed; else, perhaps, we might dismount their pieces. When Colonel Angell comes, we shall be able to assist each other effectually. Colonel Greene's reinforcement of one hundred and fifty are on their way over now. I presume it will be sufficient, if the galleys give us the assistance in their power. I have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

SAMUEL SMITH.

P. S. I should be extremely obliged, if my letters from Maryland were forwarded.

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FROM THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Yorktown, 17 October, 1777.\*

SIR,

It is now above two years since I have had the honor of presiding in Congress; and I should esteem myself happy to have it in my power to render further service to my country in that department; but the decline of health, occasioned by so long and unremitting an application to the duties of my office, both in Congress and out of Congress, joined to the situation of my own private affairs, has, at length, taught me to think of retiring for two or three months; and I have determined to take my leave

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\* Congress adjourned at Philadelphia on the 18th of September, and met at Yorktown, in Pennsylvania, on the 30th.

the ensuing week, and set out immediately for Boston after this express returns.

As the Congress will doubtless proceed to appoint a successor in my stead, on him, therefore, will devolve the business of the chair. It will fall within the line of his duty to keep up that connection and correspondence with you, which has heretofore been mine; and I sincerely hope he may do it, as well as discharge every other duty incident to the office, with more advantage than I have done. Upon the review, however, of the intercourse that has subsisted between us, I cannot avoid saying, that I feel a great degree of pleasure in having, to the utmost of my power, endeavoured to execute the business committed to my care, and in a particular manner with regard to the army under your command. I flatter myself my conduct, in this instance, will meet with your approbation. The politeness and attention I have ever experienced from you, in the course of our correspondence, will always be a source of the most pleasing satisfaction to me.

As it is probable I shall meet with some difficulty in crossing the North River, and shall run a considerable risk in passing through some Tory towns on the east side, I must ask the favor of you to give me authority to order a few light-horse from thence, to escort me through that part of the country. I apprehend I may safely go from hence to the North River, though I should be happy in having your opinion, and as to the best route.

On my arrival in Boston, I shall think myself happy to be favored with any commands from you; and should any thing of a public nature occur, I will do myself the honor of letting you hear from me.

With the most sincere wishes that you may soon

triumph over the enemies of America, and meet with every public and private prosperity, and with the utmost respect, I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

JOHN HANCOCK.\*

FROM RICHARD HENRY LEE.

York, 20 October, 1777.

DEAR SIR,

Your favor of the 17th I received yesterday, and was a good deal surprised to find you had been told that Congress had appointed General Conway a Major-General. No such appointment has been made; nor do I believe it will, while it is likely to produce the evil consequences you suggest. It is very true, that both within and without doors, there have been advocates for the measure; and it has been affirmed that it would be very agreeable to the army, whose favorite Mr. Conway was asserted to be. My judgment on this business was not formed until I received your letter. I am very sure Congress would not take any step that might injure the army, or even have a tendency that way; and I verily believe they wish to lessen your difficulties by every means in their power, from an entire conviction that the purest motives of public good direct your actions.

The business of a Board of War is so extensive, so important, and demanding such constant attention, that Congress see clearly the necessity of constituting a new Board, out of Congress, whose time shall be

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\* President Hancock took leave of Congress on the 29th of October. His address on the occasion may be found in the *Journals*, October 31st. Henry Laurens, of South Carolina, was chosen his successor on the 1st of November.



entirely devoted to that essential department. It is by some warmly proposed that this Board shall be filled by the three following gentlemen; Colonel Reed, Colonel Pickering, the present Adjutant-General, and Colonel Harrison, your Secretary; and that General Conway be appointed Adjutant-General, in the room of Colonel Pickering. It is my wish, and I am sure it is so of many others, to know your full and candid sentiments on this subject. For my own part, I cannot be satisfied with giving any opinion on the point until I am favored with your sentiments, which I shall be much obliged to you for, Sir, as soon as your time will permit. It has been affirmed that General Conway would quit the service if he were not made a Major-General. But I have been told, in confidence, that he would leave it at the end of this campaign, if he was appointed, unless his word of honor were taken to continue for any fixed time. And it is a question with me, whether the advocates for General Conway will not miss their aim, if he should be appointed Adjutant-General, unless he has the rank of Major-General also. My reason for thinking so is, that I have been informed General Conway desires to retire to his family, provided he can carry from this country home with him a rank that will raise him in France.\*

It is very certain that the public good demands a speedy erecting and judicious filling of the new Board of War; and I sincerely wish it may be done in the most proper manner. I do not imagine Congress would appoint Colonel Harrison without first knowing whether you could spare him; nor do I think

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\* For other particulars concerning General Conway, and his cabal against the Commander-in-chief, see Washington's Writings, Vol. V. pp. 97, 483.

that so important an office as that of Adjutant-General should be touched without maturest consideration.

We every moment expect the express, with an account that will enable us to congratulate you on the surrender of General Burgoyne, and the remains of his shattered army. This will be one of the Prussian sixes, and I augur that the other will soon cast up upon the Delaware.

I am, with sincerest wishes for your health and success, dear Sir,

Your most affectionate and obedient servant,

RICHARD HENRY LEE.

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FROM COMMODORE HAZELWOOD.\*

Red Bank, 23 October, 1777.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY.

This will acquaint your Excellency that, early this morning, we carried all our galleys to action, and, after a long and heavy firing, we drove the enemy's ships down the river, except a sixty-four gun ship, and a small frigate, which we obliged them to quit, as they got on shore; and, by accident, the sixty-four gun ship blew up, and the frigate they set on fire themselves, took the people all out, and quitted them. Our action lasted till twelve o'clock, and our fleet has received but very little damage.

You will be informed of the glorious event of last night, by Colonel Greene.† We, in our galleys, were

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\* Commodore Hazelwood, at this time, commanded the American armed vessels in the Delaware.

† Alluding to the brave defence of the fort at Red Bank, and repulse of the enemy, on the 22d. Major Ward's letter, describing this event, written at the request of Colonel Greene, who commanded in the fort, may be seen in Washington's Writings, Vol. V. p. 112.

of great use in flanking round the fort. As I am very much fatigued, I hope your Excellency will be satisfied with this short account of our affairs of the river and fleet. I have not, as yet, got a man to reënforce our fleet, for I thought it a pity to take them from the fort, as they wanted them more than the fleet; and, God knows, we are very weakly manned. Being in haste, I hope soon I shall have it in my power to give you a better account of this action. Besides the sixty-four and frigate being burnt, the Roebuck, which lay to cover them, we damaged much, and drove off; and, had she laid fast, we should have had her in the same situation. We want ammunition, cartridges for muskets, for eighteen and twenty-four pounders. Having nothing to add, I am your Excellency's

Most obedient, and very humble servant,

JOHN HAZELWOOD.

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FROM COLONEL WILKINSON.

Easton, 24 October, 1777.

SIR,

I have this moment arrived here, on my way to Congress, with despatches from Major-General Gates; and, being uncertain whether your Excellency is apprised of the fact, I think it my duty to congratulate you on Lieutenant-General Burgoyne's surrender to the American arms. This fortunate event took place on the 17th instant, and put us in possession of six General Officers, five thousand combatants, five thousand stands of arms, and twenty-seven pieces of well-sorted brass ordnance, with fixed ammunition, complete.

I have the further pleasure to assure your Excellency, that we have made, during the campaign, upwards of two thousand discretionary prisoners, among whom are several field-officers, and a large proportion of subordinate ones. The most material article in the convention between Major-General Gates and Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, is, that the latter, with his army, is allowed to return to Great Britain, on parole not to bear arms against America during the present contest.

The incendiary crew from New York continue to ravage the banks of the North River. The dwellings of Judge Livingston and Mrs. Montgomery have, among many others, shared the fate of [Kingston.]\*

I have the honor to be your Excellency's

Obliged, obedient, and ready servant,

JAMES WILKINSON.

FROM THOMAS WHARTON.

In Council, Lancaster, 24 October, 1777.

SIR,

I had the honor of receiving your favor of the 17th instant, which was immediately laid before the Council.

In consequence of this application we have ordered out two classes of militia, offering an exemption from their fines to such delinquents of the former classes as can be prevailed upon to join them, and have invited all, of every class, to turn out as volunteers. The Lieutenants have orders, if they do not find

\* Kingston was burned on the 15th of October, by the British troops, who passed up the Hudson, under General Vaughan, after the capture of Fort Montgomery.

these two classes turn out generally, to order to camp the next two succeeding classes. To encourage the people to exert themselves with alacrity, we have published an address, offering every motive we could suggest, to stimulate our constituents to their duty. What numbers may be drawn forth into service, in consequence of these measures, we cannot possibly ascertain with precision; but believe they will be more than we can possibly arm. If you should think proper to encourage our calling forth unarmed men, under the prospect of their finding arms at camp, we will endeavour to do more; but, from the view your letter presents of the want of that necessary article with you, we think it unnecessary to take further measures, at present, to draw forth a multitude of people who cannot afford any service.

The other important subject, mentioned in your letter, of taking measures for completing our Continental battalions, I shall communicate to the Legislature as soon as they meet.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

THOMAS WHARTON, JR.

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FROM MAJOR-GENERAL PUTNAM.

Fishkill, 25 October, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL,

I have been honored with the receipt of your two favors of the 15th and 19th instant; and have the pleasure to acquaint you that, after a tedious march, we are returned to this place; the fleet passed down by here yesterday, and did but little damage on their return.

Some heavy artillery, and a reënforcement of Con-

imental troops, I am informed by General Gates, are on their way to join me. By a deserter, and two of our people who escaped from the enemy at Verplanck's Point, day before yesterday, I am informed that four regiments are gone from New York to reënforce General Howe, which caused General Vaughan's hasty return down the river, probably to increase the reënforcement, as fifteen hundred of the York militia are ordered to be drafted, to supply their place at New York. I trust and hope the succour they are sending will arrive too late to relieve General Howe.

We have collected twenty-three boats that escaped the enemy, some of which want repairing, besides the boats supposed to be left up Esopus Creek, and the new galley, which have not been reconnoitred. I shall order the boats that want repairing to be repaired, and some new ones to be built immediately. With esteem and respect, I am, affectionately,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

ISRAEL PUTNAM.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

Head-Quarters, Boston, 25 October, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL,

We find, by the destination of the prisoners of General Burgoyne's army to this neighbourhood, a wide and difficult field opens to us. To provide quarters, provisions, fuel, &c., for five or six thousand men, will be no small task. The Assembly suppose them to be under my direction, and have advised that they be placed in the barracks on Prospect and Winter Hills, Cambridge, and Sewell's Point; and, indeed, I do not see where else they can be quar-

tered, if they are to remain together, and near this place. I have applied for a thousand or twelve hundred men for guards; and am determined, on the one hand, to treat them with politeness and humanity, and, on the other, with precaution and strict order. But I must entreat your Excellency's endeavours to facilitate their removal as soon as possible, as their continuance, for any considerable time, will greatly distress the inhabitants, both as to provisions and fuel, especially the latter.

Wood is now twelve or fourteen dollars per cord, on the wharves, and the inhabitants cannot obtain a supply at that price. So many of the coasters are taken by the enemy's cruisers, that they are become very unwilling to run the risk of falling into their hands. I submit to your Excellency the propriety and expediency of obtaining a protection from Lord Howe for such a number of vessels as may be thought necessary to supply the prisoners, from the eastern country. If some such method cannot be devised, I do not at present see how it can be obtained. I have wrote to Congress on the subject, and would also request your Excellency's direction as soon as may be convenient to you. As soon as the disposition of, and regulations for, the prisoners are made, I will transmit them to your Excellency. It will be necessary, if practicable, to convey a quantity of flour this way. I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your Excellency's obedient servant,

WILLIAM HEATH.



FROM THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Yorktown, Pennsylvania, 25 October, 1777.

Sir,

I was duly honored with your Favor of the 22d. and am much obliged by the expressions of politeness and friendship which it contains. A few months' relaxation will, I hope, restore my health and constitution, and enable me still to contribute my feeble efforts, in some mode or other, to the advancement of the cause of freedom in America. If I should not return to Congress, it will be the height of my inclination, as it will also be in my power, to render some service to the general interest in my own native country.

As I propose setting out on Monday, and shall go through Bethlehem, I must request that the escort of horse you so politely offered to attend me, may meet me there. Should I reach Bethlehem before them, I shall wait their arrival. In the present critical state of our affairs, I believe I should decline setting out for a few days; but, having wrote to Mrs. Hancock to meet me at some distance from Boston, I am under a necessity of beginning my journey on Monday morning. I am, dear Sir, with great esteem and regard,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

JOHN HANCOCK, *President.*

FROM COMMODORE HAZELWOOD.

On board the Chatham Galley, 26 October, 1777.

Sir,

By your Excellency's pressing, in your last letter, so much for my keeping up harmony with the fleet

and army, I apprehended some letters had been wrote, as though a difference subsisted here. As to my own part, I can lay my hand on my heart, and declare, I have taken every step in my power to keep from the least shadow of a difference, and did not know that any one had the least complaint to make, among the Continental fleet or army, as I had not ever heard the least mention of any such thing, and perfect harmony always appearing. Calling on Captain Robinson, I found he had wrote a letter to your Excellency concerning a Council of War that was held, and I am sorry to find he had given such a representation of it; and beg leave to relate matters as they were.

On the 19th day of October, I hoisted a signal for all Captains to come on board the galley in which the flag was hoisted. They came, among whom was Captain Robinson, and some other officers of the Continental fleet. Finding the galley too small, I desired the Captains to remove on board the floating battery, where we should have more room; and acquainted Captain Robinson that my design was to hold a Council. He then replied, he supposed there was no occasion for him or his officers. I told him there was, and I expected him to attend; but he left the galley, and did not come to the Council. This is the state of facts, which he represents as a partial and absurd Council; and says, I knew he would not give his consent, when he, nor myself could possibly tell what the determination of the Council would be.

Captain Robinson and myself have always had an exceeding good understanding; but I am astonished at his unkind treatment, in his letter to your Excellency. But, as I look on him as a good officer, this

shall not in the least interrupt that harmony I have hitherto kept with him.

Your Excellency may be assured that every thing that tends to promote peace, good order, and friendship, between me and the officers of the fleet and army, shall be done, to the utmost of my power.

I wrote to your Excellency in my last, of the destruction of the enemy's ships. I shall now be more particular. On the 22d, while the fort at Red Bank was attacked, the *Augusta*, of sixty-four guns; the *Roebuck*, of forty-four; two frigates; the *Merlin*, of eighteen, and a galley, came up through the lower *chevaux-de-frise*, which were attacked by the floating batteries and some of the galleys, while the rest of the galleys were flanking the enemy that were attacking the fort, where the galleys did much execution. As soon as the enemy was repulsed at the fort, the ships, finding so hot a fire, endeavoured to fall down, but the *Augusta* and *Merlin* ran aground. Early next morning the galleys and floating batteries attacked them, when an incessant fire was kept up. About eleven o'clock, I believe, one of our shot set the *Augusta* on fire, and at twelve, she blew up, being aground. The engagement still continued with the other ships; and, at three in the afternoon, the *Merlin*, we think, also took fire and blew up. Then the fire ceased on both sides. The *Roebuck* dropped down to the lower *chevaux-de-frise*, and went through. Yesterday, I went down to the wrecks, and I find the guns of both ships may be got out, if the enemy's ships can be kept at a proper distance. We brought off two twenty-four pounders, and, as soon as possible, shall endeavour for the rest.

This day we can see great numbers of the enemy crossing Webb's Ferry, and, we are told, they have

large numbers of fascines with them, by which, I suppose, they intend a grand attack on Fort Mifflin. We are also assured, this day, that they landed a number of troops at Billingsport, so that we are apprehensive they intend to attack both forts at one time.

The fleet is now so poorly manned, and the constant cry from Fort Mifflin is to guard that post, that I know not how to act without more assistance.

Colonels Greene and Angell can spare no men, as they are afraid of being attacked; and as to the vessels at Bordentown, I am informed they have not twenty private men on board, so that I expect no assistance from there.

This night it blows hard, and I fear the galleys will not be able to lay near Fort Mifflin, as, when the swell is great, they must get under a safe place. Having nothing to add, I am your Excellency's

Most obedient, and most humble servant,

JOHN HAZELWOOD.

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FROM GOVERNOR HENRY.

Williamsburg, 30 October, 1777.

DEAR SIR,

My great anxiety for the success of the American arms under your command, induces me to trouble you with this. Accounts from the camp are so various and contradictory that I know not what to rely on. If the weight of public affairs, under which you have so long labored, will permit, a few lines will be most welcome to me.

Although it seems impossible to enlist Continental recruits here, yet the zeal of our countrymen is great

and general in the public cause. I wish some proper exertions of that spirit were wisely directed to the general good. A hint from you may lead to something important, at a time like this, when most people seem at a loss to fix on the most effectual means of prosecuting the war vigorously. The Assembly is now sitting, and I shall take pleasure in communicating to them any matter you judge proper for their attention.

I beg leave to assure your Excellency, that with the most unfeigned respect, and the highest regard, I am, dear Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

PATRICK HENRY.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL DICKINSON.

Elizabethtown, 1 November, 1777.

DEAR SIR,

Your Excellency's favor of the 27th October, I received the 30th; and should be happy, if I had it in my power, to inform you that I was preparing for my march to the Delaware.

I mentioned to the Governor and Council the urgent necessity for the immediate compliance with your Excellency's request, but have yet received no answer; nor do I believe the orders will be given in time to be of any service. There are not more than one hundred western militia now at this post; the supplies have been drawn from the eastern parts of this State. The reports of our intended march to Red Bank have lessened the numbers at this post; the troops, being eastern men, not choosing to abandon (as they term it) this part of the State. Mr.

Boudinot, who is here, and returns to camp in a few days, will inform your Excellency the prevailing opinion in East Jersey. Thus it is with militia. They will undertake to judge for themselves. Those are difficulties and inconveniences your Excellency has often had to contend with and submit to, for which I am sincerely concerned. Our Governor and Council seem inattentive to your request, perhaps from an inclination to keep the troops in their present situation. General Winds, with his brigade, has not yet returned; they were at New Windsor by the last accounts.

I would by no means presume to dictate to your Excellency, but beg leave just to hint, that, if an order was given to Generals Gates and Putnam, to raise a number of militia, and make an attack upon Long Island and New York; and myself, with what militia I could collect from this part of the State, to make a descent upon Staten Island, all at the same time, — whether it would not answer a valuable purpose, although we should not all succeed. I have reason to believe it is an order that would be obeyed with great readiness; the sooner the better, if it meets your Excellency's approbation. I should only require a few days' notice, having boats now ready to transport five hundred men at a time; and I am of opinion I could increase my present numbers (about six hundred men) to twelve hundred men, upon such an occasion; and if I should be disappointed, I would make the attack with whatever numbers I could collect.

By information that may be depended upon (in my opinion), the enemy are embarking troops from New York to Staten Island to reënforce Mr. Howe. I could, within twenty-four hours, have intelligence con-

veyed to Mr. Skinner, if your Excellency thought proper that something was intended against New York, &c. which might prevent the reinforcements being sent.

I have a person now in New York: he returns to-morrow; if he brings any thing material, it shall be instantly communicated to your Excellency. I have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

PHILEMON DICKINSON.

FROM COLONEL HAMILTON.\*

Head-Quarters, Fishkill, 2 November, 1777.

DEAR SIR,

I lodged last night in the neighbourhood of New Windsor. This morning early, I met Colonel Morgan with his corps, about a mile from it, in march for head-quarters. I told him the necessity of making all the despatch he could, so as not to fatigue his men too much; which he has promised to do.

I understand, from Colonel Morgan, that all the Northern army were marching down on both sides the river, and would probably be to-morrow at New Windsor and this place; and that General Putnam had held a Council for the general disposition of them, in which it was resolved to send you four thousand men, and to keep the rest on this side the river. I came here in expectation that matters were in such a train as to enable me to accomplish my errand without going any farther, unless it should be to hasten the troops that were on their march. But, on my arri-

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\* Appointed an Aid-de-camp to General Washington, March 1st, 1777.



val, I learn from Mr. Hughes, an Aid-de-camp of General Gates, that the following disposition of the Northern army had taken place.

General Patterson's, Glover's, and Nixon's brigades, and Colonel Warner's Mountain Boys to remain in and about Albany; barracks building for them.

General Poor's brigade, marching down this side of the river to join General Putnam, will probably be here to-morrow. General Learned's brigade, Morgan's corps, Warner's brigade of Massachusetts militia, and some regiments of New York militia, on their march on the west side of the river.

I have directed General Putnam, in your name, to send forward, with all despatch, to join you, the two Continental brigades and Warner's militia brigade. This last is to serve till the latter end of this month. Your instructions did not comprehend any militia; but as there are certain accounts here that most of the troops from New York are gone to reënforce General Howe, and as so large a proportion of the Continental troops have been detained at Albany, I concluded you would not disapprove of a measure calculated to strengthen you, though but for a small time, and have ventured to adopt it, on that presumption.

Being informed, by General Putnam, that General Winds, with seven hundred Jersey militia, was at King's Ferry, with intention to cross to Peekskill, I prevailed upon him to relinquish that idea, and send off an immediate order for them to march towards Red Bank.

It is possible, however, unless your Excellency supports this order by an application from yourself, he may march his men home instead of to the place he has been directed to repair to. Neither Lee's [nor]

Jackson's regiments, nor the detachments belonging to General McDougall's division, have yet marched. I have pressed their being sent, and an order has been despatched for their instantly proceeding.

Colonel Hughes is pressing some fresh horses for me. The moment they are ready, I shall recross the river in order to fall in with the troops on the other side, and make all the haste I can to Albany, to get the three brigades there sent forward.

Will your Excellency permit me to observe, that I have some doubts, under present circumstances and appearances, of the propriety of leaving the regiments proposed to be left in this quarter? But if my doubts on this subject were stronger than they are, I am forbid, by the sense of Council, from interfering in this matter. I have the honor to be, with the warmest esteem and respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

P. S. General Poor's brigade is just arrived here. They will proceed to join you with all expedition. So strongly am I impressed with the importance of endeavouring to crush Mr. Howe, that I am apt to think it would be advisable to draw off all the Continental troops. Had this been determined on, General Warner's sixteen hundred militia might have been left here.

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FROM COLONEL HAMILTON.

Albany, November, 1777.

DEAR SIR,

I arrived here yesterday, at noon, and waited upon

General Gates immediately, on the business of my mission; but was sorry to find his ideas did not correspond with yours for drawing off the number of troops you directed. I used every argument in my power to convince him of the propriety of the measure; but he was inflexible in the opinion, that two brigades, at least, of Continental troops should remain in and near this place. His reasons were, that the intelligence of Sir Henry Clinton's having gone to join Burgoyne was not sufficiently authenticated to put it out of doubt; that there was, therefore, a possibility of his returning up the river, which might expose the finest arsenal in America (as he calls the one here) to destruction, should this place be left so bare of troops as I proposed; and that the want of conveniences, and the difficulty of the roads, would make it impossible to remove the artillery and stores here for a considerable time; that the New England States would be left open to the depredations and ravages of the enemy; that it would put it out of his power to enterprise any thing against Ticonderoga, which, he thinks, might be done in the winter, and which he considers it of importance to undertake.

The force of the reasons did by no means strike me, and I did every thing in my power to show they were unsubstantial; but all I could effect, was to have one brigade despatched, in addition to those already marched. I found myself infinitely embarrassed, and was at a loss how to act. I felt the importance of strengthening you as much as possible; but, on the other hand, I found insuperable inconveniences in acting diametrically opposite to the opinion of a gentleman, whose successes have raised him into the highest importance. General Gates has

won the entire confidence of the Eastern States. If disposed to do it, by addressing himself to the prejudices of the people, he would find no difficulty to render a measure odious, which, it might be said with plausibility enough to be believed, was calculated to expose them to unnecessary danger, notwithstanding their exertions during the campaign had given them the fullest title to repose and security. General Gates has influence and interest elsewhere; he might use it, if he pleased, to discredit the measure there also. On the whole, it appeared to me dangerous to insist on sending more troops from hence, while General Gates appeared so warmly opposed to it. Should any accident or inconvenience happen in consequence of it, there would be too fair a pretext for censure; and many people are too well disposed to lay hold of it. At any rate, it might be considered as using him ill, to take a step so contrary to his judgment, in a case of this nature.

These considerations, and others which I shall be more explicit in, when I have the pleasure of seeing you, determined me not to insist upon sending either of the other brigades remaining here. I am afraid what I have done may not meet with your approbation, as not being, perhaps, fully warranted by your instructions; but I ventured to do what I thought right, hoping that, at least, the goodness of my intention will excuse the error of my judgment.

I was induced to this relaxation the more readily, as I had directed to be sent on two thousand militia, which were not expected by you, and a thousand Continental troops out of those proposed to be left with General Putnam, which I have written to him, since I found how matters were circumstanced here,

to forward to you with all despatch. I did this for several reasons; because your reënforcement would be more expeditious from that place than from this; because two thousand Continental troops at Peekskill will not be wanted, in the present circumstances, especially as it was really necessary to have a body of Continental troops at this place for the security of the valuable stores here; and I should not, if I had my wish, think it expedient to draw off more than two of the three brigades now here. This being the case, one of the ends you proposed to be answered by leaving the ten regiments with General Putnam, will be equally answered by the troops here; I mean that of covering and satisfying the Eastern States; and one thousand Continental troops, in addition to the militia collected and that may be collected there, will be sufficient in the Highlands for covering the country down that way, and carrying on the works necessary to be raised for the defence of the river.

The troops gone, and going, to reënforce you, are near five thousand, rank and file, Continental troops, and twenty-five hundred Massachusetts and New Hampshire militia. These, and the seven hundred Jersey militia, will be a larger reënforcement than you expected, though not quite an equal number of Continental troops, nor exactly in the way directed. General Lincoln tells me the militia are very excellent: and though their times will be out by the last of this month, you will be able, if you think proper, to order the troops still remaining here, to join you by the time their term of service expires.

I cannot forbear being uneasy lest my conduct should prove displeasing to you; but I have done what, considering all circumstances, appeared to me

most eligible and prudent. I have the honor to be, with great esteem and respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

P. S. Vessels are preparing to carry the brigade to New Windsor, which will embark this evening. I shall, this afternoon, set out on my return to camp, and, on my way, shall endeavour to hasten the troops forward.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL PUTNAM.

Fishkill, 7 November, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL,

Yours of the 31st October and 1st November, I have been favored with, and have taken the necessary precautions that your army should be supplied with provisions.

In my last, I informed you that General Warner's brigade were ordered to join you; but, as they are raised only till the 1st of December, the officers and men think it exceeding hard that they should be obliged to make that long march, and their times out soon after they could reach you. I have, in consequence of their request, detained them here, to make obstructions in the river. Governor Clinton and myself have been down to view the forts, and are both of opinion that a boom, thrown across at Fort Constitution, and a battery on each side the river, would answer a much better purpose than at Fort Montgomery; as the garrison would be reinforced by militia with more expedition, and the ground much more definable.

All these circumstances considered, we have concluded to obstruct the navigation at the former place, and shall go about it immediately.

The cannon that were left at the forts are rendered entirely useless, except six twelve-pounders at Fort Constitution; and these are spiked, and the trunnions broke off, but may be stocked, so as to answer the purpose tolerably well.

I yesterday received a letter from Colonel Hamilton, dated at Albany, ordering me to send forward one thousand more Continental troops than was proposed when he was here; this will leave me with about three hundred Continental troops, and no militia except those whose times are out the first of December, to cover all this distressed country. I do not think I can justify myself in this, without first acquainting you; and, if I then have your Excellency's orders, I will, with pleasure, immediately and promptly comply with them.

I am sorry to inform you that, for want of pay, General Poor's brigade of Continental troops have refused to cross the North River. The troops mutinied, the officers endeavouring to suppress them, and they so determined to go home, that a Captain, in the execution of his duty, ran a soldier through the body, who soon expired, but not before he shot the Captain through, who is since dead. I have got several of them in provost guard, and a general Court-martial sitting for their trial. About twenty of them have made their escape, and gone home. I have sent off some light-horse, and officers of the brigade, to bring them back. In order to make peace, and reinforce you as soon as possible, I am endeavouring to borrow about one thousand or fifteen hundred pounds, to give them a month's pay. In the mean



time they are curing themselves of the itch. As soon as this operation is over, they will march immediately. This, I acknowledge, is a bad precedent, but it is a worse one to keep troops ten months without pay.

This department is absolutely in distress for money, and the necessary business cannot be carried on without a supply is immediately sent. I am, dear General, very respectfully,

Your most obedient servant,

ISRAEL PUTNAM.

P. S. I have just received information from Generals Dickinson and Parsons, that Sir Henry Clinton has embarked about six thousand troops as a reënforcement for General Howe; they have not yet sailed. I shall go down to White Plains this afternoon, to make a show there. Possibly this will prevent their going so soon as they would otherwise, if at all.

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FROM COLONEL HAMILTON.

New Windsor, 19 November, 1777.

DEAR SIR,

I arrived here last night from Albany. Having given General Gates a little time to recollect himself, I renewed my remonstrances on the necessity and propriety of sending you more than one brigade of the three he had detained with him, and finally prevailed upon him to give orders for Glover's, in addition to Patterson's brigade, to march this way. As it was thought conducive to expedition to send the troops by water, as far as it could be done, I procured all the vessels that could be had at Albany fit

for the purpose, but could not get more than sufficient to take in Patterson's brigade. It was embarked the 7th instant, and I expected would have been here before this, but the wind has been contrary, though they must, in all probability, be here to-day. General Glover's brigade marched at the same time on the east side of the river, the road being much better there than on this side. I am this moment informed that one sloop, with a part of Patterson's, is arrived, and that the others are in sight. They will immediately proceed by water to King's Ferry, and thence take the shortest route to you.

I am pained, beyond expression, to inform your Excellency that, on my arrival here, I find every thing has been neglected and deranged by General Putnam, and that the two brigades, Poor's and Learned's, still remained here and on the other side the river at Fishkill. Colonel Warner's militia, I am told, have been drawn to Peekskill, to aid in an expedition against New York, which, it seems, is at this time the hobby-horse with General Putnam. Not the least attention has been paid to my order, in your name, for a detachment of one thousand men from the troops hitherto stationed at that post. Every thing is sacrificed to the whim of taking New York.

The two brigades of Poor and Learned, it appears, would not march for want of money and necessaries, several of the regiments having received no pay for six or eight months past. There has been a high mutiny among the former on this account, in which a Captain killed a man, and was shot himself by his comrade. These difficulties, for want of proper management, have stopped the troops from proceeding. Governor Clinton has been the only man who has done any thing towards removing them; but, for want

of General Putnam's collocation, has not been able to effect it. He has only been able to prevail with Learned's brigade to agree to march to Goshen, in hopes, by getting them once on the go, to get them to continue their march. On coming here, I immediately sent for Colonel Bayley, who now commands Learned's brigade; and have gotten him to engage for carrying the brigade on to head-quarters as fast as possible. This he expects to effect by means of five or six thousand dollars, which Governor Clinton was kind enough to borrow for me, and which Colonel Bayley thinks will keep the men in good humor till they join you. They marched this morning towards Goshen.

I shall, as soon as possible, see General Poor, and do every thing in my power to get him along. I hope I shall be able to succeed.

The plan I before laid having been totally deranged, a new one has become necessary. It is now too late to send Warner's militia. By the time they get to you, their term of service would be out. The motive for sending them, which was to give you a speedy reënforcement, has, by the past delay, been superseded. By Governor Clinton's advice, I have sent an order, in the most emphatical terms, to General Putnam, immediately to despatch all the Continental troops under him to your assistance; and to detain the militia instead of them.

My opinion is, that the only present use for troops in this quarter is to protect the country from the depredations of little plundering parties, and for carrying on the works necessary for the defence of the river. Nothing more ought to be thought of. It is only wasting time, and misapplying men, to employ them in a fancied parade against New York; for in

this it will undoubtedly terminate. New York is no object, if it could be taken; and, to take it, would require more men than could be spared from more substantial purposes. Governor Clinton's ideas coincide with mine. He thinks that there is no need of more Continental troops here than a few to give a spur to the militia in working upon the fortifications. In pursuance of this, I have given the directions before mentioned; if General Putnam attends to them, the troops under him may be with you nearly as early as any of the others (though he has unluckily marched them down to Tarrytown), and General Glover's brigade, when it gets up, will be more than sufficient to answer the purposes of this post.

If your Excellency agrees with me in opinion, it will be well to send instant directions to General Putnam to pursue the objects I have mentioned; for I doubt whether he will attend to any thing I shall say, notwithstanding it comes in the shape of a positive order. I fear, unless you interpose, the works here will go on so feebly, for want of men, that they will not be completed in time; whereas, it appears to me of the utmost importance they should be pushed with the utmost vigor. Governor Clinton will do every thing in his power. I wish General Putnam was recalled from the command of this post, and Governor Clinton would accept it. The blunders and caprices of the former are endless.

Believe me, Sir, nobody can be more impressed with the importance of forwarding the reënforcements coming to you, with all speed, nor could anybody have endeavoured more to promote it than I have done; but the ignorance of some, and the design of others, have been almost insuperable obstacles. I am very unwell; but I shall not spare myself to get

things immediately in a proper train: and, for that purpose, intend, unless I receive other orders from you, to continue with the troops in the progress of their march. As soon as I get General Poor's brigade in march, I shall proceed to General Putnam at Peekskill. I have the honor to be, with much regard and respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

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FROM COLONEL HAMILTON.

New Windsor, 12 November, 1777.

DEAR SIR,

I have been detained here these two days by a fever, and violent rheumatic pains throughout my body. This has prevented my being active in person for promoting the purposes of my errand; but I have taken every other method in my power, in which Governor Clinton has obligingly given me all the aid he could. In answer to my pressing application to General Poor, for the immediate marching of his brigade, I was told they were under an operation for the itch, which made it impossible for them to proceed till the effects of it were over. By a letter, however, of yesterday, General Poor informed me he would certainly march this morning. I must do him the justice to say, he appears solicitous to join you; and that I believe the past delay is not owing to any fault of his, but is wholly chargeable on General Putnam. Indeed, Sir, I owe it to the service to say, that every part of this gentleman's conduct is marked with blunders and negligence, and gives general disgust.

Parsons's brigade will join you. I hope, in five or six days from this. Learned's may do the same. Poor's will, I am persuaded, make all the haste they can for the future; and Glover's may be expected at Fishkill to-night, whence they will be pushed forward, as fast as I can have any influence to make them go. But, I am sorry to say, the disposition for marching, in the officers and men in general, of these troops, does not keep pace with my wishes, or the exigency of the occasion. They have unfortunately imbibed an idea that they have done their part of the business of the campaign, and are now entitled to repose. This, and the want of pay, make them averse to a long march at this advanced season.

A letter from you to General Putnam, of the 9th, fell just now into my hands. As it might possibly contain something useful to me, I took the liberty of opening it, and, after reading it, immediately despatched it to him. If he has paid any attention to my last letters to him, things will be in a right train for executing the order in yours; but whether he has or not, is a matter of doubt. In a letter from him, just now received by Governor Clinton, he appears to have been, on the 10th instant, at King Street, at the White Plains. I have had no answer to my last applications.

The enemy appear to have stripped New York very bare. The people there (that is, the Tories) are in a very great fright. This adds to my anxiety that the reinforcements from this quarter to you are not in greater forwardness and more considerable.

I have written to General Gates, informing him of the accounts of the situation of New York with respect to troops, and the probability of the force gone to Howe being greater than was at first expected, to

try if this will not extort from him a further reinforcement. I do not, however, expect much from him as he pretends to have in view an expedition against Ticonderoga, to be undertaken in the winter; and he knows that, under the sanction of this idea, calculated to catch the Eastern people, he may, without censure, retain the troops. And as I shall be under a necessity of speaking plainly to your Excellency when I have the pleasure of seeing you, I shall not hesitate to say, I doubt whether you would have had a man from the Northern army if the whole could have been kept at Albany with any decency. Perhaps you will think me blamable in not having exercised the powers you gave me, and given a positive order. Perhaps I have been so; but, deliberately weighing all circumstances, I did not, and do not, think it advisable to do it. I have the honor to be, with unfeigned esteem and regard,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

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FROM MAJOR-GENERAL PUTNAM.

Head-Quarters, North Street, 14 November, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL,

I am favored with yours of the 4th, 5th, and 9th instant; and you will see, by mine of the 7th, that I have detained General Warner's brigade. The New York regiments being annexed to General Poor's brigade, they are exceeding unwilling to be separated; and I, knowing the disadvantages that would arise from their being here, have presumed, in some measure, to deviate from your Excellency's orders. Those



regiments are principally composed of men whose former residence was within the enemy's lines; and, the little time they were down in this quarter last summer, there was upwards of one hundred deserters from them, mostly to the enemy. We should soon lose the principal part of them here. Add to this, they have lately got some clothes and money, which puts them in a much better situation to march than most of the other Continental troops here. Besides all this, they began their march before I received your letter. This, Sir, has induced me to let them continue their route, and, in their stead, I have detained Wyllys's and Meigs's regiments, whose situation will by no means admit of their marching with that expedition which is necessary. Near one half of them without a shoe or stocking; but a supply is soon expected.

Colonel Charles Webb's regiment marched yesterday. I have directed him to advise you of his route, by express, before he arrives. I shall be happy to find this step meets your Excellency's approbation.

The inclosed is a copy of a letter from Colonel Hamilton to me, by which you will see that I am positively ordered to send all the Continental troops from here. This letter contains some most unjust and injurious reflections; for I am conscious of having done every thing in my power to succour you as speedily as possible.\*

I shall go to New Windsor this day to see Colonel Hamilton; and, until I have your orders, I cannot think of continuing at this post myself, and send all the troops away. If they should go now, I am confident General Howe will be further reënforced from this quarter. For, by deserters, spies, and every other corroborating intelligence, there is now on York Island

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\* See this letter, dated November 9th, in the Appendix.

the thirty-fifth, forty-fifth, fifty-second, and fifty-seventh. British, four regiments of Hessians, and one of Waldeck: Brown's, Fanning's, Byard's, Robinson's, Hillehy's, and Delaney's first and second battalions of new levies. Since say Fanning's is at Paulus Hook, though that is immaterial. On Long Island, there are none but militia. By information from General Dickinson, there are about one thousand on Staten Island.

I had, previous to the receipt of your letter, wrote Governor Trumbull for a number of militia; but I have my doubts whether they will come or not, as they have been much fatigued this summer already. The Rhode Island expedition has been of no service to us. You have doubtless heard that it is dropped, and it is said about three thousand troops remain there.

Mr. Colt has accepted his appointment as Deputy Commissary-General of Purchases. I have seen him this day. He informs me there are a number of cattle purchased, which shall be immediately forwarded to you. Since I came here we have had near fifty deserters, some from all corps. I am, dear General, with much respect,

Your most obedient servant,

ISRAEL PUTNAM.

FROM FRANCIS HOPKINSON.

Bordentown, 14 November, 1777.

SIR,

The intimacy of my connection with Mr. Duché renders all assurance unnecessary, that the letter, addressed by him to your Excellency on the 8th of October last, gave me the greatest concern. I flatter myself some undue means have been used to induce

him to write such a letter, so incompatible with the amiable character he has ever maintained, and so fatal to his reputation. I could not forbear communicating to him some of my sentiments on the occasion. These I might probably have been able to convey to him by secret means; but did not choose to risk the imputation of a clandestine correspondence. I have, therefore, taken the liberty to send the inclosed letter to your Excellency, unsealed, for your perusal; resting it entirely on your better judgment to cause it to be forwarded or not.

I hope your Excellency will pardon my giving you this trouble. The occasion is a very interesting one to me. My friendship for Mr. Duché calls upon me to do all I can to warn him against the fatal consequences of his ill-advised step, that he may, if possible, do something to avert them before it is too late.

I am, Sir, with the warmest wishes of my heart for your welfare,

Your sincere friend, and very humble servant,

FRANCIS HOPKINSON.\*

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FROM COLONEL HAMILTON.

Peekskill, 15 November, 1777:

Mr. Kennedy's House.

SIR,

I arrived at this place last night, and, unfortunately, find myself unable to proceed any further. Imagining I had got the better of my complaints, which confined me at Governor Clinton's, and anxious to be

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\* The letter to Mr. Duché, here mentioned, and other particulars relating to the subject, may be seen in Washington's Writings, Vol. V. p. 476.

about, attending to the march of the troops, the day before yesterday I crossed the ferry, in order to fall in with General Glover's brigade, which was on its march from Poughkeepsie to Fishkill. I did not, however, see it myself, but received a letter from Colonel Shepherd, who commands the brigade, informing me he would be, last night, at Fishkill, and this night at King's Ferry. Wagons, &c., are provided on the other side for his accommodation, so that there need be no delay, but what is voluntary; and, I believe, Colonel Shepherd is as well disposed as could be wished to hasten his march. General Poor's brigade crossed the ferry the day before yesterday. Two York regiments, Cortlandt's and Livingston's, are with them; they were unwilling to be separated from the brigade, and the brigade from them. General Putnam was unwilling to keep them with him, and, if he had consented to do it, the regiments to replace them would not join you within six days as soon as these.

The troops now remaining with General Putnam will amount to about the number you intended, though they are not exactly the same. He has detached Colonel Charles Webb's regiment to you. He says the troops with him are not in a condition to march, being destitute of shoes, stockings, and other necessaries; but, I believe, the true reasons of his being unwilling to pursue the mode pointed out by you were, his aversion to the York troops, and his desire to retain General Parsons with him. I am, with much respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

FROM COLONEL GREENE.

Red Bank, 17 November, 1777;

4 o'clock, P. M.

SIR,

Your Excellency, I dare say, has been informed of the evacuation of Fort Mifflin, and the gallant defence there made by Major Thayer. The evacuation of that fort, the removal of our navy, the movements of the British fleet, and our own situation at present, have put it wholly out of my power to answer those important purposes for which your Excellency was pleased to order me to this command.

Our fleet here are now moving as fast as possible to Timber Creek. The river is so open to the enemy's shipping, that topsail and other vessels are now passing between Mud Island and Province Island to the Schuylkill, unmolested. Fort Mercer is tolerably secure against a storm only. A bomb-proof magazine is nearly finished; no other security in the fort against shells. A strong breastwork partly finished on the bank, takes up a considerable part of the floor of the fort; and the magazine takes up so much, that the remainder of the floor is insufficient to spring tents on for more than one third of the garrison.

The proposal for building a bomb-proof under the bank is now at an end, since Fort Mifflin is lost. The communication to Red Bank, by water, is nearly intercepted; and, should a party of the enemy invest this fort by land, our whole supply would be cut off; and, should they erect bomb-batteries on the land side, they would be able to throw shells to us on all sides; from all of which I conclude, that an army investing us, sufficient to keep the field,

will reduce the garrison, and make the survivors prisoners, as we could have no retreat.

Thus, having given your Excellency what appears to me, with the unanimous voice of all the Field-Officers of the garrison, a true state of our circumstances, and observations thereon, I wait your Excellency's particular commands and directions, for an invariable rule for me to pursue; for which purpose Major Ward will wait on your Excellency, to whom I refer for a more particular account of matters here.

With every sentiment of respect and esteem, I am,

Your Excellency's humble servant,

CHRISTOPHER GREENE.

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FROM RICHARD HENRY LEE.

York, 20 November, 1777.

DEAR SIR,

I have no doubt of being excused by you for not sooner answering your favor of the 24th last, when you are informed that my ill state of health has prevented me from attending, as I ought, to the important matter it contains. I gave Mr. Jones the letter, that he might inform Congress of such parts as it imported the public they should be acquainted with. As it appeared, by the letters of General Mifflin, that he objected only to serve in the Quarter-master's Department, that his health was returning, and that he was willing to continue his aid to the public cause, Congress appointed him one of the Commissioners of the new Board, because he is competent to the right discharge of its duties, because that would best suit his valetudinary state, and as showing a just sense of his uniform, vigorous, and well-founded patriotism.

I have strong hopes that, by the skill and industry of this new Board, and from the right execution of business in that important department, you will, in future, find great relief.

General Conway has not lately been mentioned in Congress, nor has there been much talk of an Adjutant-General, since it is not certainly known whether Colonel Pickering will accept his new appointment. Mr. Fleming's character stands very fair, and, so far as I am able to judge, he would answer well in this Commission. You will see, in the inclosed, what Mr. Sergeant says of him. General Mifflin has proposed a plan for the Quarter-master's Department, that appears judicious, and well fitted to answer the purpose of good service and economy at the same time. He would divide this department into its military and civil branches; the former to be filled by a person well qualified to discharge its duties, and the latter again to be divided into Commissaries of Teams, of Forage, of Tents, &c., to be governed in their purchases by estimates from the Quartermaster-General, who is to touch no money but a moderate and sufficient salary.

It is unfortunately too true, that our enemies pay little regard to good faith, or any obligations of justice and humanity, which renders the Convention of Saratoga a matter of great moment; and it is also, as you justly observe, an affair of infinite delicacy. The undoubted advantage they will take, even of the appearance of infraction on our part, and the American character, which is concerned in preserving its faith inviolate, cover this affair with difficulties, and prove the disadvantage we are under in conducting war against an old, corrupt, and powerful people, who, having much credit and influence in the world, will



venture on things that would totally ruin the reputation of young and rising communities like ours.

The English, however, were not to blame in the business of Closter Seven. That Convention was left incomplete by the Commanders who made it. It was stipulated, particularly, that the Court of Versailles must ratify, and that within a certain time, which was not done until long after the time was elapsed, and before which ratification the troops of Hanover had returned to arms. Upon this occasion, the good faith of England is not impeached.

It is greatly to be regretted that the situation of your army unfits it for vigorous action, because it is very obvious that the enemy's possession of Philadelphia this winter and the ensuing spring, may produce consequences extensively injurious. You well know, Sir, how weak and divided the people of this State are from various causes. Those of Delaware are still worse. In this condition, with the infinite arts of our enemies, pushed up almost to the centre of the above Governments, and aided by the powerful means of supplying the wants, fanciful and real, of the people, with all kinds of European goods and salt, it will be no great matter of surprise if we were to find a total revolution in Pennsylvania and Delaware. Add to this, the ill condition of our finances, which totter upon every seeming success of the enemy.

It is not to be supposed that, where so much is at stake, Great Britain will fail to make most potent efforts to recover her honor, and prevent her ruin. Upon this ground, we may expect considerable reënforcements, and early as possible in the spring. With an army much strengthened, General Howe may effect purposes dangerous to America. It happens, too, un-

luckily for us, that, in order to support the credit of our money, the several States must, of necessity, impose large and immediate taxes. This is the most delicate and difficult of all Government operations, even in old and undisturbed states. Yet it is unavoidable, and Congress have pressingly requested that it may be quickly and extensively entered upon.

It was most evident, to discerning men, that the change in the Commissariat, at the time it was adopted, would produce most mischievous consequences, yet such was the rage of reformation, that no endeavours to prevent the evil could avail; and now I feel the most anxious solicitude, for fear the consequences may disperse our army even in face of the enemy. A Committee is appointed to confer with the Commissary-General, and to try what can be done to avert the evil. I wish they may be fortunate enough to hit upon a remedy. That there should be a want of flour amazes me, and proves great want of attention in the Commissary-General, because I well know that any quantity might have been got in Virginia at a reasonable price.

By our last despatches from the West Indies, it would seem as if a war between France and England was inevitable, unless the latter should restore all her captures made from the former without the limits prescribed by treaty, and which have been made under authority of an Act of Parliament. But the royal spleen against America is such, that every consideration falls before the wish to subjugate this free country. Yet Mr. Bingham mentions, that the ministerial writings are calculated to rouse the national resentment against France. If so, it is evident they want to set Europe on fire, that the smoke may cover them from the eyes of their injured country.

Mr. Carmichael writes that Dr. Lee was returning to Paris from Berlin, having finished his business successfully at the Prussian Court: and Mr. Bingham says it is certain that the King of Prussia has opened his ports to the United States, and that Portugal has deserted the interest of England, and acceded to the family compact. This is all good news, and will, I hope, furnish employment quickly for our unprincipled enemies.\*

My ill state of health will compel me to return home in a few days, where I shall continue ardently to pray for your health and success.

I am, dear Sir, affectionately yours,

RICHARD HENRY LEE.

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FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GATES.

Albany, 23 November, 1777.

SIR,

I am just now honored with the receipt of your Excellency's letter of the 14th instant, from White Marsh. I have never entertained the smallest idea that General Burgoyne should be permitted to exchange the port of embarkation, or that the least variation of the spirit and letter of the Convention would be indulged to the troops under his command. There is no doubt but the British regiments, upon their arrival in England, will be ordered to do duty there; but the Germans cannot, by the laws, serve in Great Britain or Ireland.

If General Burgoyne has any sinister design, what I suggested to Congress in my letter of the 10th instant, a copy of which I conclude your Excellency

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\* This intelligence was not confirmed.

has received, will be a good method of delaying, if not finally preventing, the execution of his project.

I shall write to-morrow, by the Boston post, to General Glover, who is charged with the embarkation of the prisoners under the Convention, and send him a copy of your Excellency's letter. I am, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant.

HORATIO GATES.

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FROM MAJOR-GENERAL DICKINSON.

Elizabethtown, 28 November, 1777.

DEAR SIR,

Having obtained the fullest information respecting the strength and situation of the enemy upon Staten Island, and made the necessary preparations, I called in many volunteers, whose numbers, in addition to those on duty at this post, amounted to about fourteen hundred men. With this detachment I landed yesterday morning, before day, upon the Island, from Halstead's Point. The whole strength of the enemy was drawn to this side of the Island, and extended from the Blazing Star to their former works. General Skinner, with five regiments of Greens, were quartered in different parts.\* About three hundred Waldeckers, with General Campbell, lay at the works, in which were light cannon, with a company of artillery, covered by a fifty-gun ship, and a sloop-of-war.

I landed in three divisions (having the best guides), and intended to have marched in by-roads, in order to get in the rear of the Greens, and cut off their retreat. The divisions proceeded as far as was in-

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\* Cortland Skinner had been Attorney-General of New Jersey before the war, and he now commanded a body of Loyalists, who were dressed in a green uniform. See Sabine's *American Loyalists*, p. 615.

tended (seven miles), and then met at the appointed rendezvous; but, to my great disappointment, they secured their retreat in the works by the most precipitate flight; General Skinner, Colonel Allen, and many other officers, having narrowly escaped. We drove in all their pickets, with little opposition, and now and then skirmished a little with them as they fled. I kept my design as secret as possible, not having communicated it to the Field-Officers until eight o'clock the evening before; but, notwithstanding all my precaution, Mr. Skinner received the intelligence at three o'clock in the morning, which frustrated my plan. I flattered myself I should have had the pleasure of giving your Excellency a good account of the General and his Green brigade, which, undoubtedly, would have been the case, had he not unluckily received the above information.

We made the following prisoners, namely; two Lieutenants (one Colonel Bushkirk's son), one Surgeon, one Commissary, and twenty privates (Mr. Hood, of Brunswick, among the number); and killed five or six Greens. Our loss was three men made prisoners, and ten slightly wounded. In justice to both officers and men, I must inform your Excellency they behaved well, and wanted nothing but an opportunity to have done honor to the State they belong to. Their expectations were great, and their spirits high. I was astonished that the enemy had not collected and formed upon some advantageous ground. This I expected would have been the case, and proceeded with caution. They came down in a body to play the old game upon our rear. This I expected, and was sufficiently prepared for, having thrown up a small work at Halstead's Point, and placed two field-pieces in it, from which we kept up a brisk fire, and soon dispersed them.

After remaining on the Island eight hours, and driving them within their works, we made an easy and secure retreat, not having lost a single man, horse, or boat. By a flag, just come over, I am informed they say, in excuse for their gallant behaviour, that we were joined by two thousand Continental troops. Had it not been strong tide of flood, by which means they might have been easily reënforced from New York, as General Putnam only intended a feint there, and their having two gondolas, and an armed sloop lying in the Sound, I should have remained in possession of the Island for the day. Those considerations, and the troops being much fatigued, as the night was very cold, and they obliged to march through much water, determined me to return, which reasons, I hope, will meet with your Excellency's approbation.

I proposed to the Governor to march most of the men from this post to the southern part of this State, to serve out the remainder of their time, (indeed, the whole force should have marched long ago, but the Council would not consent). If I am not forbid, I shall take the liberty of sending on six hundred of the best troops early to-morrow morning, which detachment I shall accompany. The weather is very bad, but I hope it will clear up this evening.

My indisposition, being much fatigued and very wet in crossing the river, prevented my giving your Excellency the above information earlier.

A fleet, consisting of twenty-five sail, is just arrived at the Narrows, said to come from England, and to have brought over some of the new raised Irish regiments. I have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

PHILEMON DICKINSON.

FROM GOVERNOR HENRY.

Williamsburg, 6 December, 1777.

Sir,

Enclosed I have the honor to transmit you an account of necessities sent off in nine wagons, for the Virginia regiments in Continental service. The goods have been delivered to Colonel Finnie, the Quartermaster, and he has put them under the escort of Lieutenant Mennis and a party of soldiers, who, I trust, will deliver them safely. It is my wish that the troops of Virginia shall have them. I also send a list of some other articles, chiefly linens, that will shortly set out from our public store, for the same uses.

Added to this supply, fifteen thousand pounds' worth of woollens, &c., proper for the soldiers, will set out from Petersburg in a few days. These last are procured under an act of Assembly, empowering me to seize necessities for our troops wherever they may be found. I have given orders, in consequence, to proper persons in different parts of the State, which I expect will produce many necessities, if not enough for the Virginia troops. Orders are sent to both Carolinas for blankets, particularly, and soldiers' clothes; and nothing, possible for me to effect, will be left undone, in getting whatever the troops are in want of.

I should be more particular, as to the goods seized, but the Commissioners have as yet sent me no distinct account of their proceedings. If it happens that the wants of your army are supplied in any short time, I beg to know it, that the execution of the present law for seizing goods may be stopped.

I take the liberty to send, under cover to your Excellency, two letters from France, to the Marquis de



la Fayette. One of them is from his lady, I believe. I beg to be presented to him in the most acceptable manner. I greatly revere his person and amiable character.

The lenity of your publications respecting deserters is very apparent. But, nevertheless, a great many of them are yet skulking on the Eastern Shore, and really I think their case peculiar. Their officers took up the general opinion, that their service would be confined to that shore, and promised them to remain there. Their desertion followed upon orders to march away. I beg leave to observe, that, if your Excellency would offer them a pardon upon their enlistment to serve this State, it would forward the general service by enabling us to spare so many more troops for the Grand Army. I beg leave to assure you of the highest esteem and regard, with which I have the honor to be, Sir, your Excellency's

Most obedient, and very humble servant,

PATRICK HENRY.

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FROM BRIGADIER-GENERAL PULASKI.\*

[December, 1777.]

SIR,

I make no doubt but your Excellency is acquainted with the present ineffective state of the cavalry. In this situation it cannot be appropriated to any

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\* Count Pulaski was appointed by Congress a Brigadier-General in the service of the United States, on the 15th of September, upon the recommendation of General Washington, and assigned to the command of the cavalry. This branch of the army had hitherto been very imperfectly organized. See Sparks's *Life of Count Pulaski*, in the *Library of American Biography*, Vol. XIV. p. 416.

other service than that of orderlies, or reconnoitring the enemy's lines, which your Excellency must be persuaded is not the only service expected from a corps, while, when on a proper footing, is so very formidable. Although it is the opinion of many, that, from the construction of the country, the cavalry cannot act to advantage, your Excellency must be too well acquainted with the many instances wherein the cavalry have been decisively serviceable, to be of this opinion, and not acknowledge that this corps has more than once completed victories. To this end I would wish to discipline the cavalry; and I flatter myself by next campaign to render it essentially serviceable.

What has greatly contributed to the present weak state of the cavalry was, the frequent detachments ordered to the suite of general and other officers, while a Colonel commanded, which were appropriated to every use, and the horses drove at the discretion of the dragoons.

The confidence, with which the Congress and your Excellency have honored me, is a sure guaranty to the zeal I shall ever act with, in the service of the United States. But, notwithstanding my great desire of rendering the cavalry as useful as its first institution intended, I find it impracticable, seeing it is deficient in its principal requisitions; my reflections on which, I have judged necessary to communicate to your Excellency, as a proof of my attachment to the good of the service, and desire of executing your Excellency's designs; hoping for an opportunity of deserving the favor conferred on me by your Excellency.

ARTICLE I. It is absolutely necessary, that the cavalry have a Master of Exercise, who should instruct

the commissioned and non-commissioned officers in the rules of service, as, having the command, I am obliged to act with precaution; but this officer, actuated by different motives, would remove the bad habits and correct the defects of the superior officers. There is an officer now in this country, whose name is Kowacz. I know him to have served with reputation in the Prussian service, and assure your Excellency that he is every way equal to this undertaking.

II. That twenty-four dragoons be drafted from the different regiments to form a separate corps, who shall be taught the use of the pike or lance, of which two or three days will render them masters. For this purpose I must have chosen men.

III. A Quartermaster-General to the cavalry is essentially necessary to procure winter-quarters, stables, and provender, also to provide arms, accoutrements, and clothing. An intelligent officer, acquainted with the cavalry, should be chosen for this purpose. I would recommend to your Excellency, Major Blackden, of Colonel Sheldon's regiment, a gentleman who has displayed his knowledge in the equipment of said regiment, and whom I think sufficiently qualified to merit this trust.

IV. It is full time the Quartermaster-General was sent to the place assigned for winter-quarters, in order to provide magazines, that the cavalry may be kept embodied and conveniently exercised and disciplined. The horse service has ever been respected. One third of the cavalry is generally on duty, often the whole. When it returns to camp, it should draw provision, and cook it agreeably to orders; but their full allowance is seldom granted. This I know by experience, being the worst served of any General in the service. To prevent this evil, a Commissary should

be appointed to the cavalry. The cavalry in an army generally forms a separate division, and has greater privileges than the infantry, which the honor of the service exacts; but here I find it is the contrary. Not that I aim at a superiority over the rest of the army, but am desirous of having justice done the corps I command. It is my duty. For my own part I wish to be subject to your Excellency's order only, agreeably to my request upon entering the service, which is the limit of my ambition.

PULASKI.

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FROM JOSEPH GALLOWAY.

Philadelphia, 18 December, 1777.

SIR,

Apprehending that the business of war by no means excludes the feelings of humanity, and relying on that candor and liberality of sentiment, which those who are best acquainted with your Excellency agree you possess, I have presumed to request the favor of your permitting Mrs. Galloway, with her household furniture and effects, to remove from my seat in the country to Philadelphia. Could I imagine that a contest, of such magnitude and importance as the present between Great Britain and America, is to be decided by, or in any degree depended on, a matter of so trivial comparative consequence as that of obliging me in the gratification of my desire, I should immediately perceive the impropriety, and not give you the trouble of this request.

This will be conveyed by a flag, obtained under the favor of his Excellency Sir William Howe. I am,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

JOSEPH GALLOWAY.

FROM BRIGADIER-GENERAL PULASKI.

19 December, 1777.

SIR,

In my preceding representations, I have been particular respecting the present state of the cavalry, and the means by which it may be augmented and completed; but, on this head, I must necessarily know your Excellency's determination. The advantages that would arise from a superiority in cavalry are too obvious to be unnoticed. It may be further observed that, during this war, the country will daily become more open and clear of woods and fences, and consequently better adapted to the manœuvres and service of the cavalry.

While we are superior in cavalry, the enemy will not dare to extend their force, and, notwithstanding we act on the defensive, we shall have many opportunities of attacking and destroying the enemy by degrees; whereas, if they have it in their power to augment their cavalry, and we suffer ours to diminish and dwindle away, it may happen that the loss of a battle will terminate in our total defeat. Our army, once dispersed and pursued by their horse, will never be able to rally. Thus our retreat may early be cut off, our baggage lost, our principal officers taken, and many other events occur not less fatal.

Your Excellency must be too much occupied to take cognizance of the detail of every department. A workman requires proper tools to carry on his business, and, if he does not use them in their place, he cannot be perfect. Your Excellency is undoubtedly acquainted with yours; therefore a person, possessing your confidence, and properly authorized, is essentially necessary to answer decisively such propo-

sals as I have made in my late representations respecting the cavalry.

I must not omit to mention, here, the dissatisfaction you have expressed at my seeming inattention to your orders. Your Excellency may be assured, that the good of the service is my constant study, but the weak state of the corps I command, renders it impossible to perform every service required; nay, my reputation is exposed, as, being an entire stranger in the country, the least accident would suffice to injure me; but, notwithstanding, I cannot avoid hazarding every thing that is valuable in life.

PULASKI.

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FROM GOVERNOR CLINTON.

Poughkeepsie, 20 December, 1777.

DEAR SIR,

I was not honored with the receipt of your Excellency's letter of the 3d instant, before Friday last. I am truly sensible that the security of the North River is a matter of the utmost importance to the United States in the present war, and that the safety of this State in a more particular manner depends upon it. It gives me real concern, therefore, that so little has been yet done to effect it. Works we laid out, and began, to defend the *chevaux-de-frise*, and something was done towards finishing and sinking such of them as were not completed when the enemy came up the river; and these are the only steps that have hitherto been taken.

When the enemy left the river, it was my opinion that as many of the troops from the Northern Department should be sent to reinforce the Grand Army under your Excellency's more immediate command, as

could be possibly spared; that no greater number should be left in this quarter than what would be barely sufficient to cover the country, which is more immediately exposed to the ravages of the enemy; to amuse them from sending large reënforcements to General Howe; and to carry on the necessary works for the security of the river. One brigade of Continental troops, with the militia then in service, and such of this State as I should be able to call out, I conceived fully sufficient for the purposes. Two small New Hampshire militia regiments, which were sent down from the northward by General Gates, about seventy Connecticut militia, and those of Colonel Dubois's, who escaped from Fort Montgomery, and a regiment of militia of this State, were assigned for the works. The rest of the troops, consisting of General Warner's brigade of militia (which arrived earliest), General Parsons's brigade, and some Connecticut militia, were drawn off to King's Street and the adjacent neighbourhood on the Sound, under the immediate command of General Putnam.

It was late before the militia from the northward arrived, and they were worn out with the fatigues of the campaign and their long march hither. The time for which they were engaged in the service expired the 1st of this month, and of those of this State the 15th; and while they were with us, the want of tools and materials was such as to prevent their being employed to any degree of advantage. Dubois's regiment are the only troops on the spot at present, which are by no means sufficient to mount the necessary guards. Of course the works are entirely neglected.

The resolutions of Congress, of the 5th of November, for regaining the forts and passes on Hudson's



River, and securing the communication thereof, vested General Gates with such ample powers for drawing supplies of men and materials from New Jersey, and the different States eastward, that something essential might yet have been done towards the completion of this important business before the opening of the spring, would he have taken upon himself the direction of it. But, as I understand that gentleman proposes taking his seat at the Board of War, agreeably to his late appointment, those resolutions, as they apply to him particularly, will lose their intended effect; and, though I learn by a letter I received from General Putnam, accompanying that from your Excellency, that he is directed to turn his views in future to this object, yet, however capable he may be for the task, I fear he will fall short in the execution of it, unless he shall be able to command the same aids, at least, which General Gates was empowered to do.

I am clearly of the opinion, that a strong fortress ought to be erected either on the opposite side of the creek from where Fort Montgomery stood, or at West Point, opposite Fort Constitution. The latter I prefer, as the most defensible ground, and because the navigation of the river there is more difficult and uncertain, and the river something narrower than it is at the former place. A new chain should be procured, if possible, and with the boom, which is nearly completed, stretched across the river. This, with a floating battery or two, and some gun-boats, I am persuaded, would answer the purpose effectually: and in this opinion I am confirmed, as the enemy chose to risk every thing for the reduction of Fort Montgomery, rather than to attempt passing it with their shipping, while in our possession. If West Point should be the place fixed upon, it might be of

great advantage to erect a small strong work on the high point on the opposite shore, a little above Fort Constitution.

As to the management in this department, of which your Excellency desires my sentiments, I am constrained to say (but I wish it may be considered as in confidence) we have either been very unfortunate, or it has not been as wise as might be wished. Prudent management of our small force, in my humble opinion, would have saved the forts, though, perhaps, with the far less important loss of the Continental Village. By losing the forts, the Village fell, of course. It is true a few stores were moved from thence, and saved, but I dare say not of equal value with those lost at the forts, exclusive of the shipping. Besides, had we held the forts, we should have commanded the navigation of the river, and drove the enemy to the necessity of attempting to relieve Burgoyne (for it is evident that this was their intention) by land, in which case it might have been in our power, by calling the militia to our assistance, to have destroyed Clinton's whole army. Indeed, without opposition they could not have effected a march in season for the intended purpose, and I am confident they never would have attempted it.

I never considered Peekskill, or the Village, posts of great importance, only as they stood connected with the defences of the river; for, without the latter, the enemy could, by landing above, come in the rear of the former, in which case they must fall, of course. The event has fully proved this. Notwithstanding, the chief part of this department were kept idle at Peekskill and the Village, while the forts were left without a sufficient number of men to carry on and complete the works, or defend them. If the shipping

had been properly manned, and this was often solicited, the Congress, at least, might have been saved; and even after the loss of the forts, by a prudent disposition of the force in this quarter, which was soon greatly increased by the coming in of the militia, Kingston might have been saved, and the greater part of the mischief, committed by the enemy along the shores of the river, prevented.

A constant intercourse, which has been permitted between the country and city, by flags, has, I fear, been very injurious, as well by frequently enabling the enemy to learn our strength, as otherwise, without our being able to derive similar advantages from such correspondence. I have heard that there has been a weekly exchange of newspapers with Governor Tryon, and that the printers, Gaime and Loudon, are permitted the like liberty. The latter I have no doubt of. An over share of complaisance and indulgence to the disaffected, (which, though arising from principles of benevolence and humanity, will always create jealousies and unfavorable suspicions, especially among the common people, and often even reach the army,) should, therefore, be carefully avoided. In these respects, I cannot help thinking there has been a want of common prudence. I have taken the liberty of hinting my sentiments of these matters to General Putnam, and I would fain hope that there may be more circumspection used in future.

The Legislature of this State is to meet at this place on the 5th of next month. The variety of important business to be prepared for their consideration, and other affairs of government, will employ so great a part of my time, that I should not be able to give that attention to the works for the security of the river, as their importance, and the short time

in which they ought to be completed, require. But you may rest assured, Sir, that every leisure hour shall be faithfully devoted to them, and my advice and assistance shall not, for any consideration, be withheld from the person who shall be intrusted with the chief direction of them. I have the honor to be, with the most sincere esteem and respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

GEORGE CLINTON.

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FROM MAJOR-GENERAL SULLIVAN.

Camp, [Valley Forge], 26 December, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL,

Agreeably to your Excellency's directions, I have consulted some of the General Officers who I thought most capable of advising upon the proper steps to take in our present circumstances. They say that they can by no means advise for or against an attack. They are fully convinced that General Howe has his whole force with him; that, if your Excellency thinks your force sufficient to cope with his, they are willing to risk their lives and fortunes with you in the attempt. They say, further, that General Howe is possessed of very strong grounds at present, and, even if he was not, he would have sufficient time to post himself strongly before you could reach him, as your army must have a march of two days before they could come to action. They think if an attack is made on his left with success, he can retreat with ease; if on his right, he must be ruined; but, should you fail in the latter, your army must be pushed into the Schuylkill.

They, upon the whole, think that the attempt will

be exceeding hazardous, and the success doubtful; that, if you fail, the people who are now so fond of censuring, will change their clamor, and censure you for not attacking him when he was within a mile of you, and your army more numerous and in better condition than at present. They say they are free for attacking him, if he, by his advances this way, shows an intention of attacking us; but cannot advise to marching the army to attack him where he now is, unless your Excellency is fully convinced of your superiority in numbers.

These are the sentiments of the gentlemen whom I have consulted, and, though I think they have much weight, I am so weary of the infernal clamor of the Pennsylvanians, that I am for satisfying them at all events, and risking every consequence in an action. Possibly we may be successful; if not, they may be satisfied, and even Congress itself may gain experience, and learn to censure with more caution. Possibly a defeat may have this good effect, and a victory will bring with it its own reward. I am, therefore, clearly for risking every consequence in an action, and, among others, most cheerfully, the life and fortune of

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

JOHN SULLIVAN.

FROM BRIGADIER-GENERAL PULASKI.

Trenton, 9 January, 1778.

SIR,

I arrived here yesterday with the cavalry, where I expected to have found forage sufficient to subside the cavalry, at least for a few days. My Brigade Forage-master had been informed, by Colonel Biddle, that such

provision was made, and that he would have nothing more to do than issue the same; but, so far to the contrary, there was not a load of hay in town. With the greatest difficulty we have been enabled to put our heads under cover. I applied to the civil magistrates for directions relative to the forming a magazine. In the mean while, the horses must subsist. I am, therefore, obliged to divide them into several squads, and send them out about two miles in the rear of the town, until the necessary provision, both for forage and quarters, can be made.

It will be impossible for me to quarter the cavalry in this place, unless the galley-men are removed; but they say they have an order from the Governor and Council to remain here; and, having prior possession, think they are entitled to hold it. I wait your Excellency's positive order in what manner to proceed; and if, in this case, I must execute my first orders, it will be necessary that the galley-men should receive orders to evacuate the town. I have the honor to assure your Excellency that the cavalry is in want of every article. It must be exercised and taught the service, from the Colonel to the private. Colonel Kowacz is a man of great merit, and deserves the charge of Master of Exercise. He is an officer worthy of research; and, exclusive of a thorough knowledge of his abilities, I request his being employed by your Excellency. I can recommend, and assure your Excellency will never have reason to repent your confidence in him. If this proposal should be agreeable to your Excellency, the sooner I am informed the better, as he will be of infinite service to the cavalry this winter in quarters.

I have met with an armourer, who lives at Easton. He undertakes to furnish me with pikes, pistols, car-

bines, &c. If your Excellency approves of him, the Quartermaster-General will take your orders on that head.

There are some excellent horses in this country; and, as Colonel Luterloh has received orders to press all horses fit for the service, he may procure a number here; but this must not be delayed, as I am informed many persons buy them for the use of the enemy. I am, with respect, your Excellency's

Very humble, and obedient servant,

PULASKI.

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FROM ELBRIDGE GERRY.\*

York, 13 January, 1778.

DEAR SIR,

I have waited some time in expectation of informing you with the sense of Congress on the several subjects mentioned in your agreeable favor of the 25th December, but am not yet fully able to answer my purpose.

A Committee is appointed from Congress and the Board of War, who, in concert with your Excellency, have full powers to form and execute a plan for reducing the number of battalions now in the service; to recommend the necessary appointments of General Officers; to determine on the necessary reënforcements for the cavalry, artillery, and infantry, and report their opinions on the best mode of obtaining the same; to remove from office any officers of the civil departments of the army for negligence, incompetency, or fraud, and appoint others until the sense of Congress can be known; to report the necessary alterations to

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\* A Delegate in Congress from Massachusetts.



be made in the regulations of these departments; to remove all just causes of complaint relative to rank, confining it, as nearly as may be, to the military line; and for other purposes mentioned in their commission. The members are, Messrs. Folsom, Dana, General Reed, and Harvey, from Congress, and Generals Gates and Mifflin, and Colonel Pickering, from the Board of War. I sincerely wish that despatch may be made in this business, and that the first thing may be to consider of the necessary reinforcements, that measures may be immediately pursued to obtain them. The mentioning of this is, however, unnecessary to your Excellency.

The Resolutions for allowing, hereafter, to officers, the cost of their retained rations, and for enabling your Excellency to increase the number of your Aids, I find, by your letters to Congress, are at hand. And the proposals of allowing to the officers, who shall continue in the service to the end of the war, and whose regiments shall then be reduced, half pay for a limited time; of enabling officers, after the war, to sell their commissions, under proper regulations; and of giving to the widows of such officers as shall lose their lives in the service, pensions while they remain in a state of widowhood,—are now before Congress. The first has been largely debated, and I am apprehensive that it will meet with a negative. There are many weighty arguments against it, such as the infant state of the country, its aversion to placemen and pensioners, whereby Great Britain is likely to lose her liberty, the equality of the officers and soldiers of some States, before the war, and the bad effect that such provision would have on the minds of the latter. But I must confess that none of these weigh so much in my mind as the necessity of mak-

ing a commission so valuable that a dismissal will not only be disgraceful to an officer, but injurious to his interest. This will introduce that subordination to civil authority which is necessary to produce an internal security to liberty, and to the high officers of the military department such authority as to enable them to establish discipline, without which an army can be neither vigorous nor successful.

Colonel Wilkinson is appointed Secretary to the Board of War, which I hope he will accept, that the just causes of complaint arising from his hasty promotion may be removed. Should he refuse, I think Congress will be justified in taking effectual measures to remedy the evils resulting therefrom.

General Heath is directed to procure and send to your Excellency one thousand bell tents, to prevent, in future, the danger arising from heavy rains at the critical moment of an engagement with the enemy. Is it not necessary that measures should be taken by Congress, or your Excellency, for further providing against this evil, by appropriating a drummer, fifer, or some other officer in each company, to carry a bell tent for the same, in times of action, when the baggage-wagons are ordered to leave the army, that, whether advancing or retreating, the soldiers may never be in danger of having their muskets and ammunition rendered useless from the want of this article? I remain, Sir, in haste, but with much esteem and respect,

Your Excellency's very humble servant,

ELBRIDGE GERRY.\*

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\* The following extract from a letter written by the President of Congress to Governor Clinton, dated Yorktown, January 14th, shows that the number of Delegates present in Congress was, at this time, unusually small.

FROM THOMAS WHARTON.

In Council, Lancaster, 15 January, 1778.

SIR,

The inclosed recommendation of the Honorable House of General Assembly of this State, founded on a recommendation of Congress, has been repeatedly under consideration. As we are persuaded that, however it may be in other States, we cannot reasonably expect, in this State, where property is in general very equally divided, that farmers will exert themselves to enlist their neighbours' children in the service, or even the laborers, whom they feel themselves in great want of, the Council can devise no means by which we can hope so effectually and expeditiously to raise our quota of troops, as by the officers of the battalions. If this measure shall meet your Excellency's approbation, we request, that you

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"Business for some time past has not been despatched in Congress with that degree of celerity, nor, possibly, in some instances, accuracy, which the peculiar exigency of these infant States demands; not owing to negligence and inattention of the few members, who now faithfully devote their time, and drudge in the service of their country, but to a deficiency of numbers necessary for the discharge of the very important matters which every new day brings forth. There are, at present, no more than twenty-one members on the floor. Of these, three are ordered on a Committee to General Washington's camp, and one to visit the hospitals; and, of late, from some unaccountable delinquencies, Congress, in order to guard against a total dispersion of the army, have been obliged to act personally, by several of its members, Quartermaster-General, Clothier-General, Commissary-General, and, as your Excellency will conclude from the intimation just now dropped, Director of Hospitals; and I might, with strict propriety, add two or three *et cæteras*.

"I have taken the liberty of being so full on this head, in order to show your Excellency the necessity for hastening a more ample representation from the State of New York, as well as to apologize for any unavoidable delay on the part of Congress; and I have been urged more particularly to do so, from a hint which Mr. Lewis gave me this evening, of his intention to leave us in a few days."

will please to select two out of each for this purpose, and give them orders to repair to the several counties, as soon as may be, on this important service.

A sum of money will be deposited in the hands of the County Lieutenant, or other suitable person, to pay the bounty of one hundred dollars ordered by the Assembly, over and beside the bounty given by Congress, to each able-bodied recruit, who shall enter any of the battalions belonging to the quota of this State, for three years, or during the war. The words of the recommendation are, of the "twelve battalions," but we understand it to have been intended to *all the battalions*.

The Council had, some time since, set on foot a collection of coarse woollens, blankets, shoes, &c., to be sent in the common fund in the hands of the Clothier-General. Very lately, Congress, departing from their former system, resolved that each State do endeavour to supply the present necessities of its troops. Agreeably to this, the Council immediately proceeded to bring a large quantity of woollens, which was concealed or neglected in Buck's county, to the supply of the distressed soldiers. The tailors have made considerable progress in making them up. They calculate that they will produce near one thousand coats and waistcoats for privates, and a few breeches. These goods seem not so fit for officers, except some surtouts would be thought acceptable. Your Excellency's direction concerning the distribution will be useful, as the Council are satisfied that you wish the most pressing necessity to be first relieved.

The Assembly, in the exigence of our army at this inclement season, have gone into the most vigorous mode of relief, but a mode that cannot be continued

nor renewed, consistent with trade and manufacture. They have invested two Commissioners, in each county, with power to seize and take all necessaries suitable to the purpose, in whatever hands they may be found; and they have appointed Colonel Francis Johnston to receive and distribute the clothing as ordered by the Council. By this means it may be expected that great additions may be made to the clothing already made up and making.

The officers, whose wants it is believed are very pressing, will be in some measure relieved; but it cannot be expected that powers, of this extraordinary nature, can be exerted to procure any other goods than warmth and decency require. Lieutenant Peterson, of the eighth Pennsylvania battalion, applied to the Council for clothing for himself and several officers. At the foot hereof we transcribe, from his application, a specimen of their wants.

The call upon the State was thought to be for covering for the naked part of the army; and as no idea that fine ruffled shirts, laced hats, or even fine ones of beaver, silken stockings, or fine scarlet cloth, came under this description, no provision for these has been made, nor can be expected. Your Excellency can best judge whether any precaution may be necessary to prevent such officers, as intend shortly to resign, from obtaining a supply of the clothing expected to be delivered out.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

THOMAS WHARTON, JR.

FROM BRIGADIER-GENERAL GLOVER.

Cambridge, 17 January, 1778.

Sir,

I received your Excellency's letter yesterday, of the 8th instant, desiring me to join my brigade as soon as possible.

I apprehend your Excellency has not been fully acquainted with the business I was charged with by General Gates, which has been, and still will be, attended with so many difficulties, as will necessarily detain me at this post till the embarkation of General Burgoyne.

I was honored with the command of conducting him and his troops from Saratoga to Cambridge, for the better supplying of whom, and the conveniency of the inhabitants of the country through which they marched, I divided them into two divisions; the British, by Williamstown and Northampton; the Germans, by Kinderhook and Springfield; with Commissaries, Quarter-masters, and Wagon-masters for each, with particular directions to take bills for what supplies they received, and give orders on me for payment. This order not being fully attended to, I was obliged to send Quarter-master Story back to Albany to collect the outstanding accounts. When that is done, I shall charge General Burgoyne with the whole, in one general account; and as many of the charges, in my opinion, are unjust, and others extravagantly high, large sums being charged by the inhabitants for damages in burning fences, destroying hay, grain, flax, &c., also for clothing, furniture, &c., stolen out of their houses (these charges I know General Burgoyne will object to), the inhabitants look to me, and expect I shall see them paid.

To acquit myself of censure, I am determined to lay them before the General Court, and desire that a Committee may be appointed to examine them, and make what deductions shall appear to them to be just, which I hope will give satisfaction to both parties. When this is done, I have to present it to him for payment, and then advertise the inhabitants to come and receive their moneys. I shall lose no time in bringing the whole to a close as soon as possible.

Thus, Sir, I have given an account of what I have been doing, and still have to do, at this post, which I hope will meet your Excellency's approbation.

I know of no detachments from my brigade left at any post. I shall advertise and order on all officers and soldiers who are absent with or without furloughs, as well as those recovered in hospitals. In the mean time, I beg leave to observe to your Excellency, that I have given three years' service to my country, in which I have ruined my constitution, and so much impaired my health, that I am by no means fit or able to serve her in the field another campaign. These reasons, I hope, will have such weight with your Excellency as to recommend and urge to Congress in favor of my dismissal, without offering another, which is notorious to the world; and which is, that the pay is so small, under the present establishment, compared with the enormous high price of clothing and the necessaries of life, that no officer can support himself in camp. That being the case, what must become of his family? This is a matter of general complaint, which, I hope, will be redressed, or I fear the consequences.

Yesterday, arrived in Marblehead a ship of four hundred tons burden. She sailed from Halifax with



two hundred and eighty-two prisoners, under convoy of a ship of war bound for Rhode Island. She parted from the ship in a gale of wind, when the prisoners took charge of her, and brought her in safely.

The same day arrived a prize ship, mounting twenty nine-pounders, taken by the ship Portsmouth, laden with wines and English goods, bound to York. I am, Sir, with great truth and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

JOHN GLOVER.

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FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Flemington, 9 February, 1778.

DEAR GENERAL,

I cannot let go my guide without taking this opportunity of writing to your Excellency, though I have not yet public business to speak of. I go on very slowly: sometimes drenched by rain, sometimes covered by snow, and not entertaining many handsome thoughts about the projected incursion into Canada. If successes were to be had, it would surprise me in a most agreeable manner, by that very reason that I do not expect any shining ones. Lake Champlain is too cold for producing the least bit of laurel, and, if I am not starved, I shall be as proud as if I had gained three battles.

Mr. Duer had given to me a rendezvous at a tavern, but nobody was to be found there. I fancy that he will be with Mr. Conway sooner than he has told me. They will perhaps conquer Canada before my arrival, and I expect to meet them at the Governor's house in Quebec.

Could I believe, for one single instant, that this

pompous command of a *Northern army* will let your Excellency forget a little us absent friends, then I would send the project to the place it comes from. But I dare hope that you will remember me sometimes. I wish you, very heartily, the greatest public and private happiness and successes. It is a very melancholy idea for me, that I cannot follow your fortunes as near your person as I could wish; but my heart will take, very sincerely, its part of every thing which can happen to you; and I am already thinking of the agreeable moment when I may come down to assure your Excellency of the most tender affection and highest respect. I have the honor to be, &c.

LAFAYETTE.

FROM GOVERNOR LIVINGSTON.

Trenton, 16 February, 1778.

SIR,

I have received your Excellency's favor of the 14th instant, this day, and that of the 4th, a few days since.

It would give me pleasure to consent to let three troops of Jersey horse enter into the Continental service till the opening of the next campaign, as it would not only give me an opportunity of obliging your Excellency, but would be of service to the troops in acquiring skill and experience, which they would afterwards introduce into our other squadrons. But, from our present situation, I think we could not spare more than one.

With your request of the 14th I shall comply, as far as possible, and endeavour to procure, to-morrow, a resolution of both Houses to authorize the Presi-

dent and Council of Safety to impress wagons for a limited time. But these, Sir, are very temporary expedients. It is impossible for this State to cure the blunders of those whose business it is to provide the army; and, considering what New Jersey has suffered by the war, I am pretty certain it cannot hold out another year, if the rest will not furnish their proportionable share of provisions; and, for my own part, though I would rather spend the remainder of my days in a wigwam at Lake Erie, than be the most splendid vassal of any arbitrary prince on earth, I am so discouraged by our public mismanagement, and the additional load of business thrown upon me by the villany of those who pursue nothing but accumulating fortunes to the ruin of their country, that I almost sink under it. I do not say this, Sir, to discourage you from applying to me at any time for any thing that is in my power to do, assuring you that it always gives me particular pleasure to contribute in the least to alleviate that burden of yours, to which mine does not deserve to be compared.

I shall pursue the plan, pointed out by the Committee of Congress, for procuring horses. I am, with the greatest esteem,

Your Excellency's most humble servant,

WILLIAM LIVINGSTON.

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FROM CAPTAIN HENRY LEE.

Dover, 21 February, 1778.

This country does not answer our expectation with respect to wagons. Consequently, the conveyance of the salt provision, &c., collected at this place, will not be so expeditious as could be wished. A drove

of cattle, from seventy to a hundred head, will set out to-morrow from Middletown. We do business very regularly, visiting, in our route, each and every farm, and taking with us every article necessary for our army. Very little discontent prevails among the inhabitants, and that only from among the notoriously disaffected. This State is void of all government; therefore we can meet with no aid from the civil. They have a form, but there is no spirit or energy. The situation of the country, the want of government, and the artifices of the friends to the British army, render these lower countries an asylum to deserters from the Continental army. Several officers are now here for the business of apprehending deserters, but, though very active, they meet with little success, because they have no aid from government. The Assembly is now convened at this place. The active and spirited members wish a letter to the House from your Excellency on this head. They think many good consequences would result from it. I am informed that there cannot be less than           hundred deserters, who live on the fruits of their labor in this country. Some men of power and influence encourage this abominable practice by their private countenance.

Perhaps if your Excellency would address the Legislature on the subject, and at the same time furnish me with directions and authority to apprehend and deliver to the Provost such persons as are notoriously guilty of this high crime against the interest of the States, great advantages might accrue to the army. I am convinced it would encourage the recruiting service.

I must again beg that your Excellency will order a proper person, with money to pay those persons with whom I must contract debts in the execution of

my commission. I have promised the people that they shall be paid, and shall be much distressed if my promise is not fulfilled. I have the honor to be, with the most perfect respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

HENRY LEE.

FROM GOVERNOR COOKE.

Providence, 23 February, 1778.

SIR,

I have been favored with your Excellency's letter of the 3d instant, inclosing a proposal, made to you by General Varnum, for recruiting the two Continental battalions raised by the State.

I laid the letter before the General Assembly, at their session on the second Monday in this month, who, considering the pressing necessity of filling up the Continental army, and the peculiarly difficult circumstances of this State, which rendered it in a manner impossible to recruit our battalions in any other way, adopted the measure. Liberty is given to every effective slave to enter the service during the war; and, upon his passing muster, he is absolutely made free, and entitled to all the wages, bounties, and encouragements, given by Congress to any soldier enlisting into their service. The masters are allowed at the rate of one hundred and twenty pounds for the most valuable slave, and in proportion for those of less value. The number of slaves in this State is not great, but it is generally thought that three hundred and upwards will be enlisted. I am, with great respect, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

NICHOLAS COOKE.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL SULLIVAN.

Camp, Valley Forge, 2 March, 1778.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

Nothing can be more painful to me, than the repetition of a request, which is known to be disagreeable to a Commander, to whom America in general, and myself in particular, stand so much indebted. After so polite a refusal as I have once had, I should have remained forever silent upon the subject, did not pure necessity, which knows no law, compel me to repeat my request. I sincerely lament my being compelled to discover my situation and my feelings, and hope that a long silence upon the subject will be looked upon by your Excellency rather as evidence of patience, than as a mark of my having the gift of complaining without cause. I shall repeat facts.

When Britain first began to send troops to Boston, I began, at great expense, to manœuvre troops as well in the eastern part of Massachusetts as in our own State. This not only occasioned a loss of time, but the loss of money was inevitable. I then served the public part of two years in Congress. Between the sessions of Congress I undertook to dismantle the fort at Piscataway. The Continent have received and used the cannons, small arms, powder, &c., which were, at my expense, removed into the country, at the distance of a number of miles, for which I have never had the least reward, nor have I the least probability of it. Since I have been in the service I have been rather unfortunate. I have been robbed at Long Island, New York, New Rochelle, and at Peekskill. The last of these losses I never suspected, till I was on my return from New England, and had arrived within

a mile of the place. I lost, at those several times, ten suits of clothes complete, a large quantity of linens, all my camp equipage, a valuable military library, &c. &c. I have, notwithstanding, weathered out the campaign, but have neither clothes nor equipage to begin another, or money to purchase. I have lost three horses in the service, which I am not able to replace; and though one of them was killed in action, and the others in different service, Congress will make no recompense.

Under these circumstances, I have but two ways left. One is to quit the service entirely, and the other, to quit it for a season, to prepare myself for greater fatigue and losses. I need not mention to your Excellency how inadequate the eight allowed by Congress, is to the support of an officer; my first letter has hinted it; I am sure your Excellency can see the justice of the hint. I have mentioned two ways of relief for myself. My first letter has shown the necessity, as well as a letter I wrote to Colonel Harrison, from Princeton, in June last. Could I be permitted to have my choice, it would be the former, as I have suffered too much and received too little for the fatigue I have endured. If this can be procured without trouble to your Excellency, and without my incurring your Excellency's censure, it will much oblige, dear General, him that is, with every sentiment of gratitude and respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

JOHN SULLIVAN.



FROM THE REVEREND TIMOTHY DWIGHT.\*

8 March, 1778.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

The application, which is the subject of this letter, is, I believe, not common in the American regions; yet I cannot but hope it will not, on that account, be deemed impertinent or presumptive. For several years I have been employed in writing a poem on the *Conquest of Canaan, by Joshua*. This poem, upon the first knowledge of your Excellency's character, I determined, with leave, to inscribe to you. If it will not be too great a favor, it will certainly be remembered with gratitude.

I am not insensible that the subject of this request is delicate; as consent on the part of your Excellency cannot possibly add to your reputation, and may be followed by consequences of a disagreeable nature. Of the merit or demerit of the work, your Excellency cannot form a guess, but from the character of the writer, with which you will be made acquainted by General Parsons, who does me the honor to inclose this in one from himself. All that I can say upon the subject (and I hope I may assert it with propriety) is, that I am so independent a Republican, and so honest a man, as to be incapable of a wish to palm myself upon the world under the patronage of another, as to be remote from any sinister view in this application, and to disdain making the proffer, slight as it is, to the most splendid personage, for

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\* At this time a Chaplain in General Parsons's brigade, at West Point. See Washington's Writings, Vol. V. p. 288.

whose character I have not a particular esteem. I am, with the greatest respect, your Excellency's

Most obedient and most humble servant,

TIMOTHY DWIGHT, JR.

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FROM THOMAS WILKINSON.

In Council, Lancaster, 10 March, 1778.

SIR,

In answer to your Excellency's letter of the 7th instant, I beg leave to inclose to you extracts of a letter to his Excellency the President of Congress, from this Council, and of a representation from the Council and the General Assembly to Congress, by which your Excellency will see that attention has been given to the supplying of the army with wagons, and what is the opinion of the Council respecting the difficulties attending this business.

There is not any State on this Continent which has been so oppressed with Continental business as this has been, from the beginning of the present controversy to this hour. Its exertions have been so zealous and unremitting, that no time has been lost in inquiries after groundless charges of neglect made against it, which have been generally calculated to excuse indolent or improvident officers, or to disgrace the government established in it. The amazingly difficult task, which your Excellency has to perform, while you are embarrassed with perpetual applications and complaints of officers, who are not fully acquainted with their duty, must too forcibly convince you how near to an impossibility it is to conduct very extensive business without the subordinate officers discharging, in some sort, their duty; and it is from the

example of your Excellency alone, that it is believed to be possible to conduct the affairs of a large army, under the difficulties which you have had to contend with. Equal abilities or success in attempts of this kind are not to be expected in many instances. And this Council must acknowledge that they are not equal to the task imposed on them, if it is understood to be their duty to furnish every Deputy Quartermaster with four or five wagons, whenever they are wanted, and to give equal attention to every other department of the State and army. This, indeed, seems to be expected of them; for there is, at present, an absolute dependence on the Council to supply the common rations of the soldiery now in the borough. An earnest desire to serve the general cause, and a zealous attachment to its interest, are the only motives which could possibly induce the Council to undertake such business in any extremity.

The unparalleled patience and magnanimity with which the army, under your Excellency's command, have endured the hardships attending their situation, unsupplied as they have been through an uncommonly severe winter, is an honor which posterity will consider as more illustrious than could have been derived to them by a victory obtained by any sudden and vigorous exertion. The latter often depends on some circumstance trifling in itself, while the former is derived from a determined perseverance through the greatest difficulties, which virtue and a truly patriotic spirit only can inspire.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

THOMAS WHARTON, JR.

FROM GENERAL CADWALADER.

Maryland, 12 March, 1778.

DEAR SIR,

I should have troubled you with a few lines if any thing had occurred to me that might, in the least, tend to promote the service. You receive such a multitude of letters, that I can hardly think myself excused in taking up so much of your time as to thank you for the civilities I received from you at camp.

I shall be happy to hear that you have passed the winter undisturbed; and that you have been able to keep your army together. My fears about provisions and forage, I confess, still give me great pain.

Recruiting in this and the next county below succeeds better than I expected. One half of the quota required of each county is, I am well informed, made up, and the remainder will soon be completed. The farmers are in great fear of a law to draft the militia; and they are exerting themselves to the utmost in assisting the recruiting officers.

There is no person who more sincerely wishes success to the cause of America than I do; and I should have esteemed it an honor to have been continued in the command I had in Pennsylvania, if the Government had been such a one as promised that freedom and happiness for which we are contending with Great Britain. I now no longer look upon myself as a resident of that State, and am at a loss to know what part I shall act in this. As soon as the campaign opens, I shall endeavour to make myself useful in some way or other.

The importance of Billingsport to us, if we should be able to act offensively, has not, I dare say, escaped your notice. But I am apprehensive the enemy know

too well its consequence to neglect to take possession of it before we dare to do it. Five or six hundred men might defend it against a storm; but would it be possible to keep it till we could collect force enough to make an attempt by siege dangerous to Philadelphia? The possession of this post may require such a variety of movements, that it appears to me a very considerable number of boats will be necessary.

Be pleased to present my compliments to Mrs. Washington. With the sincerest esteem and respect, I remain,

Your most obedient, and very humble servant,  
JOHN CADWALADER.

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FROM MAJOR-GENERAL LINCOLN.

Hingham, 17 March, 1778.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

Would not an early attempt upon the city of New York, by part of the Continental troops and the eastern militia, be attended with great probability of success? Indeed, if there was but a small prospect of our carrying the city, it appears to me that our collecting a respectable body of men in its vicinity would be attended with many good effects; as thereby we should probably divide the enemy, put them on the defensive, and oblige them to govern their movements by ours. We should be in a good situation to guard the North River, and even give succour to the northern parts of the State of New York, should Britain be so infatuated as to attempt a second invasion thereof. We should then receive an easy supply of provisions and forage. We should draw the

enemy from an open campaign country to one strong by nature, less favorable to their designs, and more friendly to ours. We should have our rear open to a strong and plentiful country, filled with men friendly to the common cause. We should bring back the war to a climate more healthy, at least for the New England people, than a southern one, for which reason the militia could with greater ease be drawn forth. We should avoid those inconveniences, which necessarily arise from the want of provisions and forage, when our whole force is collected in one camp, and have an opportunity of fighting the enemy in detachments, which is of importance to us, as a considerable proportion of our men will be undisciplined.

I hope these suggestions do not convey the most distant idea of a measure injurious to the Southern States. Nothing can be farther removed from my mind than the thought that the cause can be supported but by our most vigorous, united, and confidential exertions. We are all embarked on the same bottom, and shall be saved or lost together. Should the Union be broken, and we find ourselves sinking, in vain will the Southern States lay the blame of the sad event upon the Northern, or the Northern re-criminate upon the Southern.

I am happy to inform your Excellency, that my wounded leg daily acquires strength, and there is no present appearance of any further exfoliations. It is a little shorter than the other. However, the defect I hope to supply by a corked shoe, and that it will not be long before I shall be able to walk.\* I am, dear General, with sentiments of regard and esteem,

Your affectionate, humble servant,

BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

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\* General Lincoln was wounded at Saratoga, the day after the second action of Behm's Heights.

FROM COUNT PULASKI.

(Translation.)

Yorktown, 19 March, 1778.

SIR,

Without going into a detailed history of my life, which would be too long, it will suffice to say to you, in the language of an old soldier and of a citizen, that, in coming to America, my sole object has been to devote myself entirely to her welfare and glory, in using every exertion in my individual power to secure her freedom.

I think the nation was satisfied of my sentiments when it saw that I accepted the post of Brigadier-General of cavalry, though a long service, and my former rank of Commander-in-chief of the army of Poland, had given me a right to expect a higher position. But the sole desire to distinguish myself by my zeal in the cause of the United States, has disposed me to sacrifice my repose and my life to its support, at all times, and in whatever position. I venture to flatter myself, Sir, that my conduct at the head of the cavalry has proved this to the complete satisfaction of the people and the Honorable Congress; happy, General, if I may now be assured of that confidence, on your part, to which I aspire, and if, as I hope, you will honor with your approbation a plan which I have conceived with a sole view to the public good. Here it is, just as I have conceived it to be best adapted to benefit the army and the public.

The corps placed under my command shall be independent, and formed of the two companies of horse and of six companies of infantry. If the Board



of War, on which it will depend, shall see fit to enlarge it, on seeing, by experience of its courage and conduct, that it might be thus made of greater utility, it will be for them to decide.

The duty of the Commandant-in-chief of this corps will be always to observe, very close at hand, all the movements of the enemy; to take upon himself different enterprises, of the nature of surprises, ambuscades, affairs of posts, rear-guards, protecting flanks, &c., and to advise the Commander-in-chief of the army, and the Board of War, of every thing which he shall find to be of interest. It is easy to see that the whole system of the Commander of such a corps is simply one of active operation. So that, without enlarging on the advantages to be derived from it, it is easy to see that a corps which shall have no other object than to surprise the enemy, to watch them incessantly, and attack them at all points by continual surprises, must be of great utility.

The corps will be recruited from the people of the country, from deserters, and from prisoners of war, agreeably to the letter of General Washington.

I would propose, for my subaltern, an experienced officer, by name Kowacz, formerly a Colonel and partisan in the Prussian service. And as my plan is to employ all the other officers whom I personally know to be capable of serving with distinction and honor, after obtaining the consent of the Honorable Congress for the execution of the plan, I shall have the honor to mention them.

The muskets for the infantry, the pistols for the lancers, the sabres, and the horses, to be furnished me as soon as possible. I will undertake to execute the rest; and as it is difficult to find leather for boots, saddles, &c., I request an order upon the Com-

missary of Leather to furnish it to me, and upon the different Commandants where my recruits may be, for quarters and rations.

I hope that the instructions may be such, that one third of the cost of equipping the corps may be furnished at once; another third, in proportion as the corps is filled up; and so on.

You enjoy, General, the most distinguished, estimation in our army. I reverence your virtue and your valor; and your military knowledge gives me a confident hope, in presenting this view, of the success of a plan which is only interesting to me through my desire to make myself useful to the nation.

I hope, General, that you will do me the favor to obtain a prompt decision.

C. PULASKI.

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FROM THE REVEREND JOHN ETTWEIN.

Bethlehem, 25 March, 1778.

SIR,

Being informed by Dr. Shippen, the Director-General of the Military Hospitals, of an intention or proposal to fix the general hospital at Letiz, one of the settlements of the United Brethren, eight miles from Lancaster, and that he gave it as his opinion, that in that case the inhabitants of said Letiz might be moved to Bethlehem and Nazareth, and finding said proposition founded upon misinformation and a very wrong notion of the constitution of these infant settlements of the United Brethren, commonly called Moravians; I humbly beg leave to give your Excellency a short and true description of the Brethren's settlements in general, and of Letiz in particular.

The Brethren's church in Germany, with a view to propagate the Gospel among the heathens, and to plant a nursery of missionaries to the Indians and negroes, as also to provide one or more places where their here-and-there dispersed and persecuted members might find rest and liberty of conscience, did, in the year 1736, send a number of their members to make a settlement in Georgia, where the Trustees had promised them all indulgence in regard to their particular principles; but being very ill-treated by the populace, on account of the war with the Spaniards, they left Georgia, moved to Pennsylvania, and began this place, called Bethlehem, in the forks of Delaware, in 1741.

Their poverty, and the wild state of these parts, made them deny many conveniences of this life, and they lived in simplicity and brotherly love, as one family, worked all for the benefit of the whole, and desired nothing but food and raiment; if one or the other had some private property, he deposited it, or disposed of it as he pleased, for his own interest, for there was no communion of goods, though it seemed so.

In this way they began several other settlements; but finding more and more difficulties to go on in this economy, it was, by common consent, altered in the year 1762; so that all who had a mind to carry on their art or trade, and usual occupation, for their own emolument, were assisted to do it. The steward of the single brethren, in their name and behalf, became debtor for the debt of the house and stocks in their possession. So did the single sisters with their house. To encourage and to support honesty and fair dealing, the tavern, mill, and merchant store, were reserved for the benefit of the Society; and a

few others, who required a large stock, and great risk, were also left to it. Each branch bears its expenses, as salaries, rent, and interest of the stocks, &c., and the yearly gain or overplus is appropriated to the funds for maintaining the ministers, schools, missionaries, old and infirm, and their widows, orphans, and children of missionaries.

In this economical regulation we lived very happy in brotherly love and union, and enjoyed the blessings of God attending it. But it has been the cause of two very erroneous opinions, or ideas, in the mind of strangers, concerning these settlements, of very grievous consequences for them, namely, as if they were still as one family, and as if they were very rich. Both are great mistakes, if taken in a natural sense; for every congregation, and every family and private person, has to take care of itself, so as it is customary in other places, though we do help and assist each other a little more than is nowadays customary. All the moneys for transporting so many hundreds from the inner part of Germany to America, to buy lands, and great sums expended in building and providing stocks, have been borrowed, and very little paid off.

In the year 1757, upon request of some friends, a little town was laid out in Lancaster county, and called Letiz (in remembrance of the place where, just three hundred years before, the first Brethren's settlement was begun by some of the followers of John Huss in Bohemia). Some brethren were settled there. With borrowed money they built three good fine houses; one with a hall, where they can have divine service, till they shall be able to build another place of public worship. This house has, besides the hall, a few rooms where one of our bishops and the

minister of the place dwell. On one side of it, the single brethren, and on the other the single sisters, build houses, on their own account. As well the single men as the single women in these houses have their own separate economy. Each house has two persons to take care of their temporal and spiritual welfare; each person residing in the house is paid for his labor, and pays weekly a certain sum for boarding and lodging, to the House economy. The yearly profit in that economy is for the sick and superannuated, or others who cannot earn a livelihood.

All the other houses in said Letiz, except the tavern and a house where a shopkeeper lives, about eighteen in number, are the property of private families, who built and fitted them, convenient for their several trades and occupations. Amongst them are two taverns, one whitesmith, one gunsmith, one organ-builder, one skinner, the rest shoemakers, weavers, &c.

The single brethren were turned out of their well-regulated economy and different trades, and their house, to their great inconvenience and damage, converted into a hospital, which is also the case of those in Bethlehem.

Should your Excellency agree to Dr. Shippen's proposal, three hundred souls would be inexpressibly distressed, and the single brethren and sisters, and all the families at Letiz, by their removal, would be entirely ruined in their property; their useful occupations, to the loss of the public, would be stopped; and it would be impossible to accommodate them with lodgings at Bethlehem and Nazareth, where we are so crowded together that it is a great hinderance to our lawful callings, wherein we provided for ourselves and served the public.

I pray, therefore, most humbly, in the name of the

Bishop and Elders of the United Brethren, that your Excellency would please to grant to the Brethren's settlements in the fork of Delaware and at Letiz, near Lancaster, and at Hope, in Sussex county, West Jersey, protection for their persons and property, against all such oppressive and destructive measures.

It is our duty to comfort and to help, as far as we are able, all the distressed, and to serve the public in our callings, wherever we can. We have done it with a willing heart, and intend, by the grace of God, to do so as long as we live.

Recommending your Excellency to God's favor and protection, I am, with deepest respect,

Your Excellency's most humble servant,

JOHN ETTWEIN.

P. S. The bearer, Mr. Hasse, is well informed of our circumstances, and can give your Excellency further explanation of one thing or the other, if it is desired.

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FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Albany, 25 March, 1778.

DEAR GENERAL,

How happy I have been in receiving your Excellency's favor of the 10th present, I hope you will be convinced by the knowledge of my tender affection for you. I am very sensible of that goodness, which tries to dissipate my fears about that ridiculous Canadian expedition. At the present time we know which was the aim of the honorable Board, and for which project three or four men have rushed the country into a great expense, and risked the re-

putation of our arms, and the life of many hundred men, had the General, your deceived friend, been as rash and foolish as they seem to have expected. O, American freedom, what shall become of you, if you are in such hands!

I have received a letter from the Board, and a resolve from Congress, by which you are directed to recall me and the Baron de Kalb, whose presence is deemed absolutely necessary to your army. I believe that of General Conway is *absolutely necessary* to Albany, and he has received orders to stay there, which I have no objection to, as nothing, perhaps, will be done in this quarter but some disputes of Indians and Tories. However, you know I have wrote to Congress, and as soon as their leave will come, I shall let Conway have the command of these few regiments, and I shall immediately join my respectable friend; but till I have received instructions for leaving that place from yourself, I shall stay, as powerful Commander-in-chief, as if Congress had never resolved my presence absolutely necessary for the Great Army.

Since your last letter, I have given up the idea of New York, and my only desire is to join you. The only favor I have asked of your Commissioners in France, has been, not to be under any orders but those of General Washington. I seem to have had an anticipation of our future friendship; and what I have done out of esteem and respect for your Excellency's name and reputation, I should do now out of mere love for General Washington himself. I am glad to hear General Greene is Quartermaster-General; it is very interesting to have there an honest man and a friend of yours.

But I feel the greatest pain, not to hear any thing



about reënforcements. What can you do with a handful of men? And my poor division, whom I was so desirous of instructing, clothing, managing myself in the winter, and whom, I was told, I should find six thousand strong at the opening of the campaign! Don't your Excellency think that I could recruit a little in General Greene's division, now that he is Quartermaster-General? By that promotion I find myself very proud to be the third officer of your army.

With the utmost respect and affection, I have the honor to be, &c.,

LAFAYETTE.

FROM GENERAL BURGOYNE.

Cambridge, 4 April, 1778.

SIR,

I beg you to accept my sincerest acknowledgments for your very obliging letter. I find the character, which I before knew to be respectable, is also perfectly amiable; and I should have few greater private gratifications in seeing our melancholy contest at an end, than that of cultivating your friendship.

I shall take particular care of your letter to Mr. Fairfax. He is a gentleman much esteemed. I hope there is no reason to apprehend his death; I heard no such report when I left England, last spring, nor have I seen it in any of the magazines since, most of which have come to my hands. I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

JOHN BURGOYNE.\*

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\* The letter, to which this was a reply, may be seen in Washington's Writings, Vol. V. p. 266. It was read by General Burgoyne

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Yorktown, 4 April, 1778.

SIR,

Since my last, of the 30th ultimo, per Barry, I had the honor of receiving and presenting to Congress your Excellency's favor of the 29th of that month, which, having been taken under consideration, the inclosed act was this day resolved, for empowering your Excellency, when you shall judge it necessary, to call on the States of Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, for five thousand militia-men, armed and accoutred. I have the honor to be, with great esteem and respect, Sir, your Excellency's

Most obedient and most humble servant,

HENRY LAURENS, *President of Congress.*

P. S. *Evening, 9 o'clock.* M. de Francis this moment delivered me your Excellency's favor of the 1st instant, which shall be presented to Congress on Monday. Meantime permit me, Sir, to intimate that I had backed the report of your Excellency's letter

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as part of a speech in Parliament, May 26th, 1778, with the following preliminary remarks;—"I accompanied my letter to Congress by one to General Washington, wherein, upon an opinion of his character, I asked him for his support to an application that could not interfere with the public duties of our respective situations. I shall beg leave to read his answer as part of my speech; and I do it, Sir, not only lest, in these times of doubt and aspersion, I should incur censure for holding private correspondence with an enemy, but likewise because I think the letter, though from an enemy, does honor to the human heart." *Parliamentary Register*, Vol. IX. p. 221.

While General Burgoyne was at General Schuyler's house, in Albany, he wrote as follows to Lord George Germain, October 20th, 1777, concerning the American troops.

"I should now hold myself unjustifiable, if I did not confide to your Lordship my opinion, upon a near inspection, of the rebel troops. The standing corps, which I have seen, are disciplined. I do not

of the 27th of February with an information to Congress, that one gentleman of the late Committee on the Ticonderoga inquiry had retired, and that it was impracticable for me to give that attention which was due to an affair of such importance. A new Committee was immediately appointed. These gentlemen, some eight or ten days ago, offered a report, when Mr. Duer interposed arguments, which induced the House to postpone the consideration for two days.

I have taken the liberty to name that gentleman, because his declared motives for delay were coupled with assurances of particular considerations respecting General Schuyler. This very morning I called on Mr. Duer, and reminded him of his engagements, urging the painful situation in which his friends and the other General Officers remained. He replied, "I will soon bring on that business." Your Excellency's present letter will prove a further incitement. I have very long felt for the gentlemen who are subjects of the inquiry; and, although it was with extreme reluctance I obeyed the order of Congress to be of the original Committee, after having urged such reasons for exemption as appeared to me very forcible, yet I cannot charge myself with delinquency at any stage in the course of our proceedings. To account for the uncouth and entangled state of this inquiry, would not be half so difficult, as it

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hazard the term, but apply it to the great fundamental points of military institution; sobriety, subordination, regularity, and courage. The militia are inferior in method and movement, but not a jot less serviceable in woods. My conjectures were very different after the affair of Ticonderoga, but I am convinced they were delusive; and it is a duty to the state to confess it. The panic of the rebel troops is confined, and of short duration; the enthusiasm is extensive and permanent." Ibid. Vol. XI. p. 480.

might be impertinent to the proper line of my correspondence. From this consideration I shall only add, that I trust your Excellency's present application will have that weight which is justly due.

H. L.

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FROM THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Yorktown, 8 April, 1778.

SIR,

I had the honor of writing to your Excellency, the 4th. by Jones: since which I have presented to Congress your Excellency's favors of the 1st, 3d, and 4th. Upon reading the first, I took occasion to intimate to Mr. Duer the distressed situation of his friend General Schuyler, as described by the General himself in a late letter of the 15th of March, and this morning suggested again to the House the demands of all the General Officers, subjects of the suspended inquiry. I shall repeat the same to-morrow; and, having just now obtained the concurrence of gentlemen in private conversation, that Congress are guardians of the honor of their officers, I flatter myself there will be no further delay of this business.

Your Excellency will receive, under the present inclosure, an act of Congress of the 7th, for promoting Captain Lee to the rank of Major of horse, and to the command of a separate corps. I perceive it is not expressed in the act; but I am warranted to assure your Excellency it is the particular desire of Congress that suitable declarations of that gentleman's merit should be expressed, either within the intended commission, or by annexing to it the above-mentioned

act, a certified copy of which Major Lee will receive by the present despatch.\*

Consideration of Colonel Lee and Major Swasey's application is postponed a few days for particular reasons. I shall direct the Secretary of Congress to collect the dates of the late resignations of Colonels in the Virginia line, and transmit an account to your Excellency, when obtained.

Your Excellency's last letter of the 4th is at present the subject of a special Committee. It is probable a report will be offered to-morrow morning.

Previous to the receipt of your Excellency's advices, Congress had determined to make a purchase of divers articles, set forth in Captain Cottineau's schedule of his cargo; and for this purpose a gentleman will proceed, to-morrow, on his journey to Cape Lookout, by whom your Excellency's letter will go forward. I have the honor to be, with the highest esteem and regard, Sir,

Your Excellency's obedient and humble servant,

HENRY LAURENS, *President.*

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\* *In Congress, April 7th.* "Whereas, Captain Henry Lee, of the light dragoons, by the whole tenor of his conduct during the last campaign, has proved himself a brave and prudent officer, rendered essential service to his country, and acquired to himself, and the corps he commanded, distinguished honor; and it being the determination of Congress to reward merit;

"*Resolved*, that Captain Henry Lee be promoted to the rank of Major Commandant; and that he be empowered to augment his present corps by enlistment to two corps of horse, to act as a separate corps."

FROM THE FRIEND ANDREW BURNABY.\*

Greenwich, 9 April, 1778.

DEAR SIR,

Availing myself of the present moment of tranquillity, I sit down to renew a correspondence, which has been long interrupted, either by my residence in Italy, or by that common calamity which I am persuaded we both sincerely lament. Yet, how shall I resume a subject, which, by naturally carrying us back to those happy days when our acquaintance commenced, and obliging us to compare them with that sad and unfortunate reverse which has since happened, must necessarily affect us both with concern? A civil war, spreading enmity and distrust where affection and confidence ought naturally to prevail, is a circumstance which not only we, but every one not lost to humanity, must, I persuade myself, most seriously deplore.

And is there no way to stop the further progress of this ruin, and heal the wounds which have been opened by so dire a calamity? Must the parent and the child be forever at variance? And can either of them be happy, independent of the other? You, my dear Sir, know too well the circumstances and interest both of Great Britain and America, not to perceive the impossibility of it. Great Britain and America, united, will constitute the fairest and happiest state in the world; but, divided, they will be

\* An English clergyman, who had travelled in America before the Revolution, and who published his *Travels* after his return to England. This letter seems to have been designed to prepare the way for the Commissioners, who were coming out empowered to negotiate a reconciliation upon the terms embraced in what were called Lord North's *Conciliatory Bills*.

quite the reverse. It is not even possible that America should be happy, unconnected with Great Britain. Will the union, for example, which is at this time so firm among the Americans, from the sense of a common cause, be permanent, when they are totally independent? Are there no circumstances in the state of each Colony, no ingredients in the character of their respective inhabitants, which render this morally impossible? A worse and more disastrous war than the present will, in such case, not fail, in the space of half a century, to desolate America from border to border. Remember the States of Greece after the retreat of the Persians; remember the Peloponnesian war.

France, too; is it to be supposed, however specious and fair her conduct and promises may be at present, that she can in reality be a well-wisher to America? I doubt not of her professions, indeed, nor even of her readiness, in case of any appearance of a reconciliation taking place between us, to make war sooner than suffer it to come to a conclusion. But will it be from affection to America that she will do so? *Et sic notus Ulysses?* Will it not rather be from hope that Great Britain and America may weaken each other, and then fall a common prey to her insidious arts? There can be no doubt of it. You yourself have most sensibly experienced the perfidy of that false and treacherous people. The interest of Great Britain and America is the same; the same lineage, the same language, the same liberty, the same religion connecting them; but that of America and France is diametrically opposite, absolutely irreconcilable.

That union and harmony, then, which so happily subsisted between us in the year 1763, ought to be



again revived, and forever preserved hereafter inviolate and sacred. This, I am convinced, is the ardent wish of every good and honest man in this kingdom, whether in the highest or the humblest stations. Indeed, the appointment of the present commission is an incontrovertible proof of it. Whatever errors or misunderstandings there may have happened during the course of this unfortunate business, it is time that they were rectified, and that the wounds were on both sides healed. Let us mutually forget our past misfortunes, and unanimously strive to recover our former happiness and friendship. Let affliction teach us wisdom and moderation.

You, my dear Sir, whose virtues have raised you to so eminent and conspicuous a situation, may, by using and exerting your endeavours, contribute very much to the completion of so divine a purpose; and thereby acquire more glory, and confer more real and lasting service, both to your own country and to mankind in general, than perhaps ever yet happened to the lot of any one man. May Heaven give you the power, as I doubt not the inclination, to effect so great and virtuous a design!

Allow me, before I take leave of you, to inquire after Mrs. Washington and my friends. I hope they are well; and desire that you will recall me to their remembrance. You will find, by a very imperfect and I fear injudicious, account of my travels in America, which I have taken the liberty to send you, how deep a sense I retain of the kindness and civilities of my American acquaintance. I hope Mrs. Washington will not think that I have spoken too slightly of the Virginian ladies. If she does, be so good as to remind her, in a whisper, that I was at that time in love with a lady whom I had left in

England; and, of course, was half blind to the beauty of every one else. I was not, however, insensible to her merit; and I would add, if it were not for fear that she would suspect me of flattery, that the happiness of her acquaintance obliged me to speak that truth of the Virginian ladies, which, in my present judgment, I think the most honorable testimony I could bear to their virtue. "that they make the best wives and best mothers in the world."

Wythe is, I take for granted, as philosophical and Socratic as ever, and as deeply absorbed in Grecian literature. Be so good as to present my best affections to him. Our friend, Small, is, alas! no more. He died about two years ago, leaving a considerable fortune, but a much more considerable character behind him.

I am, myself, in possession of every blessing in life; a respectable preferment, an independent fortune, a wife after the Virginian model, four sons and a daughter, and, above all things, of the most perfect friendship and affection for yourself; being, dear Sir, with the highest respect and gratitude, your most faithful and most obliged humble servant,

ANDREW BURNABY.

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FROM THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Yorktown, 14 April, 1778.

SIR,

In obedience to the direction of Congress, I am to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 4th instant. Congress, with great concern, perceive that your sensibility is wounded by their resolutions. Placing the firmest confidence in your prudence, abi-

lities, and integrity, they wish to preserve that harmony with you, which is essential to the general weal. You may rest assured, that, far from any intention to give you pain, their resolutions have no other motives or end but the public good. They therefore hope that you will not, in future, be distressed by apprehensions as injurious to their honor as they are to your own feelings.

However different the views of Congress may seem to you now from what you supposed them to be when you entered into your late engagements with General Howe, Congress certainly had nothing in view but a proper respect to the dignity, safety, and independence of these States. The duplicity of General Howe, and authentic information that the gentlemen appointed by you to negotiate the cartel held opinions repugnant to the sense of Congress, constrained them, in a matter of such high moment as forming a general cartel, to express their sentiments in an explicit manner, lest they might have only to lament, when it was out of their power to remedy, a misapprehension on points deeply affecting, in their judgment, the safety and honor of these States.

Congress expected you would consider their resolutions of the 30th ultimo in the light of private instructions, calculated to show their sense with respect to the general outlines of the proposed cartel; a practice usual with the supreme power of every State in similar cases. You observe that a strict adherence to all the resolutions of Congress must, of necessity, destroy all idea of a cartel; but, as a distinction can easily be made betwixt such of the resolutions of Congress as flow from general principles of policy, and those which arise from circumstances which have rendered a variation from time to time necessary, it

is conceived that an attention to this discrimination will rid you of those embarrassments, which you may, at first view, think yourself entangled with. The resolution of Congress of the 19th December, respecting the mode of settlement for supplies to the enemy's prisoners, seems not to have been sufficiently attended to. It is left at the option of the enemy to pay either in coin, dollar for dollar, or in provisions equal in quantity and kind to what is furnished. Whatever objections may be made against the first mode, there surely cannot be a more just and equal ratio than the latter. General Burgoyne lately made the same objections on this point, which are carried to you; but, on being reminded of the alternative offered by the resolution, he acquiesced, and the victualling-ships are now actually delivering provisions in payment for what they received. The Commissaries of Prisoners, on each side, may pass receipts for the rations received, expressing the quantum of each article received for the subsistence of the prisoners in the power of the contracting parties, and the balance may be paid in provisions or in coin, at the option of either party.

The mode suggested by you is liable to this strong objection; that it would lay us under the necessity of furnishing the enemy's prisoners with us, as well as ours with them, with provisions; which certainly would be a capital advantage to them, if we consider the distance whence they must derive their supplies. The resolution of the 30th December was a measure naturally flowing from the treason acts, which the respective States have passed in consequence of the express recommendation of Congress. On a mature deliberation, they are convinced that a deviation from it would be subversive of our character as an inde-

pendent people, in consistence with sound policy. No act of Congress can suspend the operation of the laws of the different States, and therefore they cannot consent that any measure should be adopted in the proposed cartel, which may contravene this resolution.

It does not, however, appear to Congress that any embarrassment will arise in this matter, unless the enemy should insist upon an article in the cartel, that Americans, taken in arms, shall be entitled to the benefits of an exchange. Under the terms "officer for officer, soldier for soldier," which are generally used in cartels, traitors would no more be included by the laws of nations than deserters. The carrying this resolution into practice can depend only on the will of the several States, who, in this respect, must be presumed to be governed by principles of policy, of which they must necessarily be competent judges. With respect to the resolution concerning General Lee, at his request Congress are willing that you should waive his exchange for Major-General Prescott, as a preliminary article. It is, however, their intention that no cartel be acceded to, unless it be expressly admitted therein, that General Lee be exchanged for General Prescott.

Congress have taken measures for purchasing such articles of Captain Cottineau's cargo as are necessary for the army.

By order of Congress,

HENRY LAURENS, *President.*

FROM JOHN BANISTER.\*

York, 16 April, 1778.

SIR,

In consequence of a letter from Governor Henry to the Virginia Delegates, directing the payment of thirty thousand dollars, as an additional bounty granted to the soldiers who have reënlisted into the Virginia regiments, I am to inform you, that the money shall be paid in any manner you may please to direct.

It was with the most painful sensibility that I perused your last letter, on the subject of the present state of the army, and I am equally concerned in reflecting, that I do not see effectual measures taken to ward off the impending blow.

As to the establishment, I am under no doubt of its being adopted, and put upon a ground of stability. Its not having taken effect as yet, has been owing to a thin representation. Virginia, the leader in this great business, for want of the constituent number to form a representation, remains a cipher, without suffrage, at this momentous period. Did I not fear to intrude upon your hours of essential business, I should sometimes write to you, for my own information, on military subjects; here being the greatest ignorance in every occurrence of that kind, mixed with an inactivity, that permits affairs of the greatest magnitude to lie dormant, and give place to local trifles. I have said with freedom, in few words, what has often occurred since I have been here. I wish I had the capability to apply an instant remedy, for nothing procrastinated will do. However, the military esta-

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\* A Delegate in Congress from Virginia.

Idishment will come out soon. God knows what other regulations may take place. Virginia's drafted men will come on soon, and I believe may amount to seventeen hundred, instead of two thousand voted, as it is highly probable more men desert of those compelled into service, than if they had entered voluntarily. Colonel Harrison's artillery regiment are on their march. Would volunteers, provided they can be had, be of service to your operations? Certain it is, they will not come out in such numbers as some have conjectured; but I believe a considerable body, perhaps two battalions, may be induced to venture their persons, in this time of danger.

The order on the Paymaster, if it is to go through his hands, will                      and eighty dollars; the eighty being for a soldier, which I have desired Colonel Meade to pay. I am, with the highest regard and attachment, your Excellency's

Most obedient and most humble servant,

JOHN BANISTER.

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FROM ROBERT EDEN.\*

Piccadilly, 17 April, 1778.

Notwithstanding the different parts, Sir, we have taken in the unhappy differences still subsisting between Great Britain and America, I flatter myself there yet remains a mutual share of esteem between your Excellency and me; and I hope you do me the justice to think, that should the Commissioners, by whom I have the honor of sending this, be fortunate enough to accomplish a reconciliation, it will give me the highest pleasure. When I inform your Excellency

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\* Governor of Maryland from 1769 to 1776.



that my brother, William Eden, whom I have a very great regard for, is one of them, I have no doubt of his meeting with all such civilities as you in your station can offer, or he in his desire. You may believe me when I assure you, that he heartily wishes success to his undertaking, and that you will find in him as much candor and probity as you could desire in a person you will probably have to treat with. He will assure you that I have endeavoured, at all times, to do justice to your character, and that I shall be happy in meeting your Excellency again on the same free and friendly terms we formerly lived. I beg my compliments may be offered to Mrs. Washington, and Mr. and Miss Custis; and have the honor to be, with great regard, Sir, yours, &c.,

ROBERT EDEN.

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FROM GENERAL CADWALADER.

Maryland, Kent County, 27 April, 1778.

MY DEAR SIR,

I was on the Western Shore when your favor by Captain Lee reached my house; and as I was daily expected home, General Dickinson did not forward it; by which means I cannot have the pleasure of seeing you so soon as I could wish.

I always proposed spending the active part of the campaign in camp, but I did not conceive the enemy could possibly take the field till towards the 1st of June, owing to the difficulties of subsisting their horses before that time; and, therefore, I have not made the necessary preparation for setting off immediately, agreeably to your wishes. But, be assured, I shall exert myself, to the utmost, in getting some

matters of importance to my private affairs settled; after which, I shall lose no time in paying my compliments to you in camp.

The wishes you kindly express, to see me engaged in the service, I esteem the greatest honor; but an appointment to any command, at this time, would probably create great complaints; which, instead of occasioning, I wish to prevent. I have not the vanity to think my assistance at camp can be important to the service; but, small as it may be, I conceive it my duty to offer it at this critical time; reflecting, that if it is of no value to my country, it will cost it nothing.

Be pleased to present my compliments to the gentlemen of your family; and believe me to be, with the greatest respect and esteem, your affectionate and most obedient, humble servant,

JOHN CADWALADER.

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FROM THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Yorktown, 27 April, 1778.

SIR,

I had the honor of writing to your Excellency the 24th instant, by McKlosky. Yesterday, about half past 5 o'clock, P. M., your Excellency's favor of the 25th was brought to me in Congress, and was immediately presented. The person who had been the bearer of it was anxious to obtain a receipt of the letter to express the time of delivery, and he complained of unnecessary detention half the day at the Susquehanna Ferry. This intimation will answer his purpose.

I am directed, by Congress, to request your Excellency will immediately require all officers, civil as well

as military, in the army, who are at present delinquent, to comply with the terms of an act of Congress of the 3d of February last, by taking the oath of allegiance and abjuration, and that your Excellency will be pleased to cause the necessary certificates as speedily as possible to be returned, and if occasion shall be given, which is supposed to be scarcely possible, the name or names of such persons as shall refuse.

The bearer hereof will deliver three packets, containing about six hundred blanks, which will hasten the business of administering oaths. More shall be sent by the next messenger.

In considering the article of provision to be made for officers, who shall continue in the army to the end of the war, Congress had proceeded so far last night as resolving, that one half the present pay be continued during life, without exceptions of country, to all such officers as shall also take the oath of allegiance, and actually reside within the United States. This resolution, and the whole plan for the military establishment, is subject to further discussion, respecting the propriety of transmitting it to the several States for concurrence. I have the honor to be, with the highest respect and esteem, Sir,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

HENRY LAURENS, *President.*

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Yorktown, 27 April, 1778.

SIR,

The newspapers which I received from your Excellency, in company with the honor of your Excellen-

My letter of the 18th, afford me sometimes amusement in intervals from the necessary duties of my present station; and I am particularly indebted to your Excellency for the notice which is included in the kindness of this favor.

Your Excellency is too well acquainted with the integrity of your own heart, and too well assured of the good opinion of your countrymen, to admit any anxious impression from the forgeries of an enemy. I am disposed to vote for every exertion in our power, in order to defeat their designs against us, except following such of their examples as will, when related in history, greatly abate from that character for generosity, which England, and upon good ground, once boasted. The late attempt, by publishing forged resolves of Congress within a garrisoned town, immediately under the eye of a Commander-in-chief, appears to me to be mean and scandalous, and must be considered in the same light by every good Englishman, military, or in public or private life.

We are now verging towards a most important crisis, when all the wisdom of these States will be required. Permit me, Sir, to lay before you my private sentiments. If the time shall come for appointing a deputation for treating with British Commissioners on terms for establishing peace, I hold it necessary that able men be called forth for that purpose from any place within the Union, without confining our election within any one State or body. I entreat your Excellency's pardon for this freedom, and that you will believe me to be, with the most sincere esteem and attachment, Sir,

Your obliged, and most obedient servant,

HENRY LAURENS.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL SULLIVAN.

Providence, 1 May, 1778.

DEAR GENERAL,

I should have long since wrote your Excellency, was there any thing in this quarter worth engaging your attention. I found, upon my journey home, that there was not the least probability of the enemy's attempting to rescue General Burgoyne and army. I therefore went to New Hampshire, where I tarried about twelve days. Upon my arrival there, I found no troops worth mentioning, and, by the inclosed return, your Excellency will see we are little better now. Connecticut has not sent us a man; Massachusetts, but fifty; New Hampshire, owing to my pushing the matter, have theirs principally on the roads.

The three last-mentioned regiments will leave me to-morrow; their time expires this night. When your Excellency has viewed this return, you will be surprised at the indolence of the enemy. They are three thousand six hundred strong, of British and Hessians, besides a small regiment of Greencoats, made up of deserters and refugees from us. This regiment consists of one hundred and twenty-seven, and is commanded by one Whitmore. They have drafted none from Rhode Island, this year, except fifty-four to join the light infantry of their Grand Army. Those sailed with Lord Howe. The enemy are busy in fortifying the Island, and are much afraid that we are about to attack them. I wish the deception may continue. Captain Whipple, in the Providence frigate, passed their shipping, with a strong gale of wind, the night of the 30th ultimo, under a severe fire, which he warmly returned, and got safe to sea.

We have nothing new in this quarter, save that General Pigot politely requested me to disperse his *hansbills* among the people, which I refused, and delivered them over to the Assembly.\* I since hear, that while I was viewing the sea-coast below the enemy, the populace rose and burnt them under the gallows. When any thing worth your Excellency's notice occurs, I shall give you the earliest intelligence. Interim. I have the honor to be, dear General, with the highest sentiments of gratitude and esteem.

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

JOHN SULLIVAN.

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\* Copies of Lord North's *Conciliatory Bills*. These had been sent to General Sullivan by the British General in Newport, with the following letter.

"Newport, 24 April, 1778.

"SIR,

"Having received his Majesty's commands to cause the *Bills* read in the House of Commons the 19th of February last to be printed and dispersed, that the people at large may be acquainted with their contents, and of the favorable dispositions of Great Britain towards the American Colonies, I hope you will excuse my taking the liberty of sending a number of them to you, and of requesting that you will be so obliging as to order them to be dispersed throughout the Province of Rhode Island.

"I have the honor to be, Sir, &c.,

"ROBERT PIGOT, M. G."

The following is an extract from General Sullivan's reply, dated April 20th.

"I received your favor of the 24th instant, requesting me to disperse, among the inhabitants of this State, sundry copies of Bills, said to have been read in the British House of Commons on the 19th of February last, which copies were delivered with your letter.

"The inhabitants of this State acknowledge no authority but that of the civil magistrates and the laws of the land (with which authority I have not a wish to interfere), and, therefore, while acting in a military capacity, I cannot justify the dispersing of papers of any kind amongst them. The Legislature of this State is the only power which can regularly take your request into consideration. To

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Yorktown, 3 May, 1778.

SIR,

My last trouble to your Excellency was dated the 30th ultimo, by Rosse. The present will cover an act of that date for ascertaining the rank and pay annexed to Brevet commissions. Whether this is, or is not, intended to have a retrospective effect, I think is not clearly expressed by the letter; and, as I apprehend such operation may, in many instances, give umbrage, I shall embrace the first proper opportunity of obtaining an explanation of the act, or information to my own understanding.

I despatch this messenger principally to inform your Excellency of an event, the knowledge of which may nevertheless very probably have reached camp

that body I have, therefore, commended your desire, and with it have lodged the copies you sent.

“Had proposals of this kind been properly and sincerely made by the Court of Britain to the Supreme Authority of America, before the wanton cruelty which has marked the progress of the British arms in this country had taken place, or prior to our declaring ourselves independent, and entering into alliances with foreign powers, they would have been accepted with sentiments of gratitude. But at this time, all proposals, except for a peace upon honorable and equal terms, must be ineffectual.”

Copies of the same Bills were sent to Governor Trumbull by Governor Tryon from New York. The following extracts are from Governor Trumbull's answer.

“Your letter of the 17th instant, from New York, is received, with its inclosures, and the several similar packets of various addresses with which it was accompanied.

“Propositions of peace are usually made from the supreme authority of one contending power to the similar authority of the other; and the present is the first instance, within my recollection, where a vague, half-blank, and very indefinite draft of a Bill, *once* only read before one of *three bodies* of the Legislature of a nation, has ever been addressed to the people at large of the opposite power, of an



before this can arrive there, as our messenger from Europe, Mr. Simeon Deane, had spoken everywhere on his journey to York, of the treaties between the *Comte de Mounville* and the United States of America, which were executed on the 6th of February, 1778. These were read in Congress late last evening, and will probably be ratified and published in the course of the present week, except a secret article, which it is also probable is very well known abroad. Be this as it may, I view the treaties of alliance and commerce, although not free from exception, as circumstances of advantage to these United States, and which afford a bottom for vast improvements. I beg leave, therefore, to congratulate with your Excellency, and with every friend to the great American cause. I shall move Congress, to-morrow, to order duplicates of the treaties to be immediately transmitted to your Excellency; in the mean time this                    of a letter from Doctor Franklin and Mr. Deane, which will go inclosed, will communicate the great outlines. I have the honor to be, with the highest esteem and regard, Sir,

Your obliged and obedient servant,

HENRY LAURENS, *President.*

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overture of reconciliation. There was a day, when even this step from our then acknowledged parent State might have been accepted with joy and gratitude. But that day, Sir, is passed irrevocably.

“If peace be really the object, let your proposals be addressed properly to the proper power, and your negotiations honorably conducted. We shall then have some prospect of (what is the most ardent wish of every American) a lasting and honorable peace. The British nation may then, perhaps, find us as affectionate and valuable friends, as we now are determined and fatal enemies; and derive from that friendship more solid and real advantage, than the most sanguine can expect from conquest.” *Lebanon, April 23d.*

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Yorktown, 5 May, 1778.

DEAR SIR,

In a public letter, which I had the honor of writing to your Excellency the 3d instant, by Major Price, I sent a number of handbills calculated for giving satisfactory information to the public, who were anxious to learn the recent intelligence from France. One article of this has been questioned, respecting the King of Prussia's promise, the only part of the performance that can be called mine. I believe my authority is good. Izard, under the 16th February, informs me, "the King of Prussia has given the most explicit and unequivocal assurance, that he will be the second power in Europe to acknowledge the independence of America." It is true our Commissioners, in their public advices, are not so express, nor are they, in my opinion, so full and clear in some other respects, as they might have been.

Human nature pervades every human breast. A residence at Paris will not exempt men from infirmities of the mind; nor is even the momentous concern of guardianship to thirteen United States, an infant world in danger of being crushed by the hand of violence, paramount to those curses upon mankind, pride and covetousness, sources from whence all the evils of this life spring. Our Ambassadorial Commissioners, of which your Excellency cannot be ignorant, are unhappily divided in sentiments. Jarrings and appeals have followed. Intelligence, intended for the public, loses part of that fulness and perspicuity, which would have appeared in candid and united counsels. I have seen so much of the world as to be guarded against surprise at any thing. No inconsider-

able benefit results from attempts to reconcile, and even sweeten, the most untoward circumstances which happen in our's journey through it. I apprehend it would break in on your Excellency's time, otherwise I would have troubled you with Mr. Izard's letter, not merely for information, but for a hope that something might be devised for promoting concord between our friends yonder, or the public good, by a wise coöperation. But I will not dwell upon this subject.

Last night I had the honor of receiving your Excellency's favor of the last of April, and am happy in finding a confirmation of my sentiments respecting persons proper for treating with the expected deputation from our adversary. I fear the determination, where only this point can be determined, will be contrary. Be it so; thank God we have here some men of abilities and integrity. I hope we shall make a judicious choice. The act of Congress of the 22d April will blot out pages of the British instructions. The Commissioners from that side will perceive a necessity for taking a new departure from the Tower of Independence; and what happened in France, on the 6th of February, will oblige them to shape a new course. From the absence of the Commissioners, I presume they had not sailed from England on the 10th of March. It may have been found expedient, at St. James's, to vest them with more ample powers, if they meant to come, than were originally intended, and under new sanctions of Parliament; a work of slow progress. The people would have much to say. That the nation were more than a little agitated, appears from a letter, which I take the liberty of inclosing for your Excellency's perusal. I have likewise a letter from the mercantile line in London, which proves to me the people in general had very

sensibly felt the weight of the war, were ardently desirous of peace, and anxious lest Congress should reject the intended propositions.

The long, and, as I humbly think, unnecessary delay of the army arrangement, is very afflicting. I know it must give extreme pain to your Excellency. It is improper for me to touch upon the cause, especially when it is so well known that Congress have been engaged in very important business. The plan introduced for that part of it which is intended to establish a half-pay for officers during life, I have been uniformly averse from, and in a committee of Congress delivered my objections. These appear to me, at this moment, of more weight, because they have not been removed by the reasonings which have been offered against them, and I may, without vanity, think myself not obstinate. I am open to conviction, and always, without murmuring, submit to a majority. I view the scheme as altogether unjust and unconstitutional in its nature, and full of dangerous consequences. It is an unhappy dilemma to which we seem to be reduced. Provide for your officers in terms dictated to you, or lose all the valuable soldiers among them; establish a pension for officers, make them a separate body, to be provided for by the honest yeomanry, and others of their fellow-citizens, many thousands of whom have equal claims upon every ground of loss of estate, health, &c., or lose your army and your cause. That such provision will be against the grain of the people, has been unwarily testified by its advocates, whom I have heard converse upon the subject. Indeed, they have furnished strong ground for opposition against an immediate compliance with the demand. If we cannot make justice one of the pillars, necessity may be sub-

mitted to at present; but republicans will, at a proper time, withdraw a grant which will appear to have been entered.

Were I in private conversation with an officer on this point, I should not despair of fairly balancing every grievance he might suppose to be peculiar to the army, by instances of losses and inconveniences in my own property and person; and I count myself very happy, compared with thousands who have as faithfully adhered to our original compact. It is said, gentlemen did not think the war would have continued so long. Forgive me, Sir, a ludicrous remark which I made early in our contest, indeed in England, before the commencement of the contest. "I know my countrymen are good for the quarter, but I have doubts of their going the course." There is a certain versatility, habitual if not almost constitutional, in men born south of thirty-eight degrees of latitude, in these States. Circumstances, which have occurred in the progress of this war, have given strength to my observation.

There are, within that division of America, not only objects inviting, but temptations almost irresistible, to change, to say nothing of the general train of education. Hence, it is easy to account for a resignation of a commission, which had been anxiously solicited by scores. The want of something is made an excuse, and even sometimes by worthy characters, who do not suspect themselves. Would to God, gentlemen had followed the noble, patriotic example of their Commander-in-chief, a plan which, reflection will show them in a shade of disgrace, would never have found place in their minds. How superior are many of the gentlemen, now in my contemplation (for I know many with whom I do not converse), to the accept-

ance of a half-pay, contributed to by widows and orphans of soldiers who had bled and died by their sides!—shackled with a condition of being excluded from the privilege of serving in offices, in common with their fellow-citizens; voted in every House of Assembly as the drones and incumbrances of society, pointed at by boys and girls,—there goes a man, who every year robs me of part of my pittance. I think, Sir, I do not overstrain. This will be the language of republicans; how pungent, when applied to gentlemen who shall have stepped from the army into a good remaining estate; how much deeper to some, who, in idleness and by speculation, have amassed estates in the war!

This, Sir, is a large field. Virtue and honor might be summoned to answer, but it is time for me to forbear. I am obliged to write in haste, called upon by particular public duties. Besides, I feel a full assurance, notwithstanding the present seeming contrariety, that my sentiments, when fully explained, will not differ essentially from your Excellency's. I must not, however, conclude without these declarations, that I am not among those to whom may be applied, "Our God and soldier we adore, in time of danger, &c." I am most heartily disposed to distinguish the gallant officers and soldiers, by the most liberal marks of esteem, desirous of making proper provision for all who shall stand in need. I would not except even some of the brave, whose expenses have been princely in extravagance, while they complained of insufficiency of pay.

I have ever detested, and never practised, Parliamentary jockeyings for procrastinating an unpalatable business, which, as a silent auditor and spectator, I have, within some time past, known to be alternately

adopted. I most sincerely wish the army had been wisely attended to. The high esteem I from gratitude bear for your Excellency, whose sufferings from contrary conduct I know must have been great, as well as my love of despatch, makes me wish it; and I lament that, in some degree, we are likely to be indebted more to the policy and deep projects of other men for our deliverance, than to our own wisdom and fortitude. I am, with the most sincere respect, and the most respectful affection and esteem, dear Sir,

Your most obliged servant,

HENRY LAURENS.

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FROM ELIAS BOUDINOT, COMMISSARY-GENERAL OF PRISONERS.

Baskingridge, 13 May, 1778.

DEAR SIR,

On my arrival at Morristown, I found Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, who proposed my going with him to New York, as he thought he could aid me greatly in furthering some immediate relief to our suffering prisoners. By Colonel Allen I received General Clinton's permission to attend Colonel Campbell, and then proceeded to New York. I found Major-General Daniel Jones in the command, and General Valentine Jones Commandant of the city. Both these gentlemen appear determined to give every relief to prisoners that is in their power. They treated me with uncommon civility, and granted me every thing I asked.

The exchange, I took with me, was completely carried into execution, with the addition of twenty-five officers and about twenty privates, being for the ser-



vants of General Burgoyne. Colonel Campbell, and others. General Jones has given me the strongest assurances that our officers and privates will not have reason again to complain of unnecessary severity; indeed, their whole system appears to be changed, or at least in confusion. I cannot but mention the service I received from Colonel Campbell, who seems determined to interest himself in mitigating the rigors of captivity, which he appears well acquainted with.

Many of our officers, who are now exchanged, are at a loss to know what to do, there being no provision made for them; and having left both property and friends, they are anxious for any employment in which they may hope for some satisfaction for the multitude and severity of their sufferings.

As I am much engaged to get my accounts in proper order, I shall remain here till that is done, unless I receive other orders from your Excellency, which I beg to be favored with, if you think my immediate presence necessary at camp. If a successor to my department has been nominated, I should be much obliged by the information. I have the honor to be, with the greatest regard and esteem, your Excellency's

Most obedient, and most humble servant,

ELIAS BOUDINOT.

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FROM RICHARD HENRY LEE, IN CONGRESS.

York, 16 May, 1778.

DEAR SIR,

The unfortunate cause, which hath prevented me from attending to your last favor sooner, will, I hope, be my excuse. The long sickness and death of my

much-loved brother of Bellevue, has for some time past confined me in Virginia, and removed every other consideration from my mind. I now embrace the first good opportunity of sending you the pamphlet of forgeries, that I formerly mentioned. It is among the pitiful arts of our enemies, to endeavour at sowing dissension among the friends of liberty and their country. With me, such tricks can never prevail.

Give me leave, dear Sir, to congratulate you on the happy event of our treaty with France being so effectually concluded. Congress have ratified it on their part, and ordered the ratification to be delivered in due form. This will be announced to the public immediately. The counsels of France have been governed, in this affair, by true magnanimity and sound policy. It was magnanimous in his Most Christian Majesty, not to avail himself of our situation to demand unequal and oppressive terms; and it was wise to leave the commerce of America open to all the maritime states, which will prevent their jealousy and enmity, and make them foes instead of friends to England. Great Britain has its choice now of madness or meanness. She will not war with the house of Bourbon and North America at the same time; so that I incline to think meanness will be her choice, as best befitting her present state and the minds of her rulers. It will probably happen, that the trade of France will not now be interrupted; and thus, by affording no pretext for war, the whole force of our enemies may be devoted to one last and vigorous campaign against us. As wise men, we ought to be prepared for such an event, by collecting a strong army, and by every other means that can discourage and defeat such intentions of our inveterate enemies. Being disappointed this campaign, must infallibly com-

pel the acknowledgment of our independence, and keep the world, for some time longer, in peace. England alone will pay, for her wickedness and folly, by the loss of North America.

Our information is good, that very few troops can come here from Germany; and private letters, as well as public papers, say that the plan of getting regiments by subscription, though much boasted of at first, has fallen very low. From the Highlands of North Britain some men will be obtained, and perhaps a few from England and Ireland, but there seems no reason to suppose that their every exertion can add more than four or five thousand to the present force in North America. But this will require a very considerable strength, on our part, to make the event certain. An unsettled dispute between the Emperor and the King of Prussia (which England will undoubtedly foment) concerning the division of the estate of the late Elector of Bavaria, has threatened a rupture in Europe, not for our advantage, because the former of these princes being with us, the latter might be disposed to favor the views of Great Britain, to our injury.

Alderman Lee writes, that there is some hope of this being negotiated happily. An intelligent correspondent in England writes to Alderman Lee, that it was uncertain whether Lord North's Bills would be agreed to or not, but that they were industriously sent over here, and circulated, to prevent our treaty with France from being concluded. Vain and unwise men! Their means are always destructive of their ends. North's delusive and indecent propositions have accelerated an adoption of the agreement with France.

I am much concerned to find, in Virginia, such

want of method and industry in collecting and bringing forward the drafts. When I came away, there were all the men (amounting to forty-one or two), both of the former and the latter drafts, remaining in King George, merely for want of an officer to bring them away; and I am misinformed if it is not the case in other counties. As far as I have been able to learn, it is probable that, if dexterous recruiting officers were properly furnished for the business, and sent out, almost all these veterans, that have been discharged from our nine regiments, would reënlist in a short time. I am, with sincere esteem, dear Sir,

Your most affectionate and obedient servant,

RICHARD HENRY LEE.

P. S. Alderman Lee says, they talk of sending Lord Westmore and Hans Stanley here, to treat with us, and that they are to bring half a million of guineas to bribe the Congress. From their own corruptions, these men reason to the corruption of all others.

I had almost forgot to mention, that four expresses were sent from St. James's, on the subject of Generals Howe and Clinton. The latter had leave to go home; the Court was disgusted with the former, and had recalled him, but recollecting that Clinton might be come away, another messenger was sent to stop Howe, if that should be the case. I hope they are both gone.\*

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\* These rumors appear to have had little foundation.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Valley Forge, 19 May, 1778.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

Agreeably to your Excellency's orders I have taken the oath of the gentlemen officers in General Woodford's brigade, and their certificates have been sent to the Adjutant-General's office. Give me leave, now, to present you with some observations delivered to me by many officers in that brigade, who desire me to submit them to your perusal. I know, Sir, (besides I am not of their opinion in the fact itself, that I should not accept for you the objections those gentlemen could have had, as a body, to any order from Congress; but I confess the desire of being agreeable to them, of giving them any mark of friendship and affection, which is in my power, and acknowledging the kind sentiments they honor me with, have been my first and dearest considerations.

Besides that, be pleased to consider that they began by obeying orders, and want only to let their beloved General know which were the reasons of their being rather reluctant (as far as reluctance may comply with their duty and honor) to an oath, the meaning and spirit of which was, I believe, misunderstood by them. I may add, Sir, with a perfect conviction, that there is not one among them but would be thrice happy, were occasions offered to them of distinguishing yet, by new exertions, their love for their country, their zeal for their duty as officers, their consideration for the civil superior power, and their love for your Excellency.

With the greatest respect and most tender affection, I have the honor to be, &c.,

LAFAYETTE.

FROM EDMUND RANDOLPH.

Williamsburg, 21 May, 1778.

DEAR SIR,

It may, perhaps, be some entertainment to you, to be informed of the proceedings of the present Assembly.

After choosing Colonel Harrison Speaker, by a great majority, they seemed to be determined against every act of legislation which did not, in some measure, tend to the security of independence. The sense of the House was taken, as to their inclination to proceed upon the report of the revisers of the laws; but it was decided that the general business of the Commonwealth should be postponed until the military arrangements were absolutely settled. But I wish the prospect of success was equal to the ardor of the law-makers. They have, indeed, a bill, now committed to the whole House, for raising two thousand volunteers, to reinforce your Excellency. They have annexed numberless seducing advantages, in order to obtain recruits. But the demon of avarice, and spirit of extortion, seem to have expelled pure patriotism from the breasts of those who usually compose armies. A regiment of horse is voted, also, to consist of three hundred and fifty. This, I conceive, will be soon completed, as many men of family and fortune propose to enter as privates.

An act has passed the House of Delegates, agreeably to the recommendation from your Excellency and Congress, for the oblivion of past treasons. The persons in this country, who will be the objects of this law, are few in number, and I am afraid the time allowed for their coming in is too short for our

act to have any effect in the army. A battalion of infantry is to be raised, for garrison duty, at the ports and harbours of this State. General Nelson leaves Williamsburg to-day, on his way to camp; but it cannot be ascertained, before his arrival at Fredericksburg, what number of troops he will carry with him. I am, dear Sir, your Excellency's

Much obliged, affectionate, humble servant,  
EDMUND RANDOLPH.

FROM GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

In Congress, 27 May, 1778.

DEAR GENERAL,

I have a word to say to you upon the subject of promotion, which we have just now finished, or rather unfinished, at least if that matter was before in an unfinished situation. That famous incomprehensible Baltimore Resolution (unluckily perhaps) introduced a very tedious debate, which terminated, at length, by rejecting the whole of what the Committee reported with relation to the promoting of officers.

You may be a little surprised when I tell you, that upon the whole matter I believe this is best. But how? It is true, I confess, that much ground of heart-burning is left under the Baltimore Resolution governing these matters, by the mysterious trinity of *seniority*, *merit*, and *quota*. Let me, however, on the other hand, observe, that to tie up the hands of the Republic, as to the officers whom they are to appoint, is utterly inconsistent with the republican principles of Government, which ought to prevail among us. No danger, it is true, can arise at present; but, my dear Sir, we are laying foundations; and how poste-



rity, in future wars, may build on the foundations laid by ancestors, whom they will certainly reverence, no man can be hardly enough to assert.

What, then, you will say, is the effect of the new rule? In my poor opinion, it is no rule. What, then, is the use of the Resolution? Nothing more than an apology for officers whom it may be found necessary to supersede. Congress, in effect, seem to have pledged themselves to their constituents, that they will pay a due attention to the quota of troops furnished by the States respectively, to the seniority of the several officers, and to that degree of military ability which nature or industry may have conferred upon deserving individuals. You ask me, what is to be the rule below the degree of a General Officer? I answer, that Congress could not, with propriety, make any rule. They have given to the States the power of appointing the officers in their own regiments. Of consequence, therefore, it would be idle to restrict them as to the persons whom they shall appoint. It will, therefore, be necessary to make application to the several States on the occasion. They have already, I believe, in most instances, given you the necessary power; and if so, then to fix the order of promotion will be only a limitation of such power. What are my ideas on the occasion, you will see by the letter I inclose, directed to Governor Clinton, which you will do me the honor to transmit to him. I am, dear General,

Most sincerely, yours,

GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

*Yorktown, 28 May.* We are going on with the arrangement of the army with charming rapidity, after a long stop. A very, very little time will, I hope,

complete it. I hear you expect soon to be in Philadelphia. In my opinion, the instant the enemy evacuate it, the best disciplined troops in the army should be marched in, and the several inhabitants ordered, on pain of military execution, to confine themselves to their houses. Proper persons should then be sent to the several stores, to make out lists of the goods contained in them. From these lists you should mark the articles which may be necessary for the army, the hospital, and the like. The next step should be to levy a contribution, of at least one hundred thousand pounds sterling, in hard money, which ought to be apportioned upon the inhabitants, according to their wealth and disaffection. They may then be permitted to go about their usual occupations. But the Quarter-master should take proper stores, and therein lodge, under guard, the articles by you marked; and receipts should be by him given, at the rate such goods sold immediately before the evacuation: and duplicates of such receipts forthwith transmitted to the Treasury Board. The propriety of these steps I will not dilate upon. But, should they be pursued, I think the most beneficial consequences would accrue to the public. I am, once more, yours,

GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

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FROM MAJOR-GENERAL LINCOLN.

Worcester, 1 June, 1778.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

I was honored with your kind favor of the 7th ultimo, on the 19th, accompanying your valuable present, the epaulettes and sword-knot.\* You will per-

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\* Concerning these epaulettes and sword-knot, see Washington's Writings, Vol. V. p. 361.

mit me to return my most cordial thanks for them, and to assure your Excellency that this testimony of your approbation of my conduct fills me with the highest sentiments of duty and affection, will always be remembered with the warmest gratitude, and ranked among the first honors which have been conferred upon me in life. I must have been insensible, indeed, not to have felt this honorary, and very particular mark of respect; blind, not to have discerned the candor and friendship with which I have been treated, from my first being honored with a command under your Excellency; criminally inattentive, not to have noticed the concern you have expressed for my safety and perfect recovery; and must ever be unhappy in reflection, should I not pay you that tribute of love and esteem which justice and gratitude indispensably demand.

My leg hath acquired such degree of strength, that I can bear considerable weight on it. There have been lately several exfoliations; the openings are now small; the limb is free from pain and inflammation, and puts on a better appearance than it hath ever before.

By the advice of my surgeons, for the sake of a ride, I came to this town, the week before the last, with Mrs. Lincoln. She was immediately taken with the smallpox, in the natural way, and now lies very ill. I am, my dear General, with regard and esteem,

Your obliged, humble servant,

BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Yorktown, 8 June, 1778.

DEAR SIR,

My colleague, Mr. Drayton, having shown me, about

a fortnight ago, the draft of a report which he had prepared, stating charges against the General Officers who lately abandoned Ticonderoga, and flattering me with assurances that he would soon offer it to Congress, I delayed replying to your Excellency's favor of the 29th ultimo, hoping for ground to intimate that that business was ready to be despatched to your Excellency, for the further necessary order; but, to my great mortification, it continues to be procrastinated. Some of the gentlemen of the Committee are, or have been, desirous of new lights. In a word, Sir, I am quite in opinion with those gentlemen who say, "the not proceeding in this matter is cruel and oppressive," although I am as well convinced the delay has not been calculated or intended to distress the parties affected. It has arisen from a vapid, desultory habit, which, if I am not mistaken, I have seen squander millions, and endanger States. I speak with warmth, and, I believe, with equal truth. On my country's account, as well as from a feeling for the culprit officers, I am really ashamed of our conduct respecting the particular affair in question. However, as I can always take a decent freedom with my colleague, who is really a diligent man, I will not let him pass a day unreminded of the necessity for bringing forward his report. I sent off a messenger to-day, with a letter to Lancaster, at his request, for collecting somewhat relative to the business, and I think he hinted, that when that ingredient should be obtained, the report would be complete.

Frequent items have been given in public of the disagreements of our Commissioners. This day a private perusal of papers, treating on that subject, gave me much pain. I fear an investigation, upon the arrival of Mr. Deane, who is every hour expected, will

sprond the trouble wide. I have suppressed all that has been written to me, and have sealed my lips, except to your Excellency and one other gentleman. I know all the gentlemen yonder, some of them very intimately; know their tempers and habits, and think I can mark out causes; but I can only deplore their impolitic, and, I was going to say, school-boy jarrings, and dread the consequences of a heated and injudicious discussion on this side.

9th. Late last night your Excellency's public letter of the 7th was brought to me. I shall lay it before Congress at 10 o'clock. Lord Abingdon's protest does honor to Mr. Morris, of New York; the merit of our resolves, of 22d April, is fairly to be ascribed to him.\*

I have lately much regretted that I had it not in my power to transmit to your Excellency some of the English papers which we had received, and which, indeed, came originally into my own hands; but judged it my duty to present them to the House, where they were so and so suddenly dispersed, as to deprive me of the reading even of one of them; yet I dare not say I will take better care another time; my own duty will be to do as I have done.

In order to save time, I have sent to the Secretary's office a young man to copy the resolves of Congress, required by your Excellency, and which will be found here inclosed. I am, with the most sincere regard and esteem, Sir, your Excellency's

Much obliged, and most obedient servant,

HENRY LAURENS.

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\* Alluding to the report of a Committee on the *Conciliatory Bills*, which had been sent to Congress by the British Commander in Philadelphia. The report was drawn up by Gouverneur Morris, and was unanimously adopted by Congress. It is printed in the *Journals of Congress*, and also in *American Reminiscences*, Vol. VIII. p. 49.

FROM GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

Yorktown, 9 June, 1778.

DEAR GENERAL,

I have sent to your address three bundles, containing the several materials collected by the Committee for arranging the army. This business being now put under your care, I trust you will be enabled speedily to put your army in the situation you wish, excepting always the deficiency of numbers, which is, upon the whole, well enough, since thereby it happens that less of the resources of the country are consumed; and this is certainly a war of resources. The opinion of Congress, relative to Philadelphia, you have doubtless ere this received. Mine did not arise from any pleasure I take in the distresses of my fellow-creatures; still less from that horrid love of proscriptions, which, however dictated, certainly disgraces human nature. Simply, I wished that our enemies should be mulcted before they were received into our bosom, and that we might thereby possess ourselves of the sinews of war.

Should there be still other desiderata as to the army, which, indeed, I well know there are, pray let me hear of them in a letter, to which I shall call the attention of the House, who have now entangled themselves in such an infinity of matter, that some management is really necessary to lead them to the most serious and important objects. The Committee had written to Governor Clinton for his assistance in arranging the regiments not with you. So much as I received in answer to that application you will find among the bundles. Whatever may come to hand, regarding Gansevoort's regiment, I shall do myself the honor to transmit immediately. I am called away.

Should Mrs. Washington be still in camp, which, I confess, is rather unlikely, pray present my respects to her. I have the honor to be, dear General,

Yours sincerely,

GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

FROM GEORGE JOHNSTONE.\*

(Private.)

Philadelphia, 10 June, 1778.

DEAR SIR,

I beg to recommend to your private civilities my friend Dr. Ferguson. He has been engaged, from his early life, in inculcating to mankind the virtuous principles you practise.

\* The Earl of Carlisle, Governor George Johnstone, and William Eden, in concert with Sir Henry Clinton, were the British Commissioners for negotiating with Congress on the terms of Lord North's Conciliatory Bills. They arrived in Philadelphia on the 6th of June. Dr. Adam Ferguson was Secretary to the Commissioners. Governor Johnstone also wrote a letter of the same date as the above to the President of Congress, who replied as follows.

"Yorktown, 14 June, 1778.

"DEAR SIR,

"Yesterday I was honored with your favor of the 10th, and thank you for the transmission of those from my dear and worthy friends, Mr. Oswald and Mr. Manning; had Dr. Ferguson been the bearer of these papers, I should have shown that gentleman every degree of respect and attention, that times and circumstances admit of.

"It is, Sir, for Great Britain to determine whether her Commissioners shall return unheard by the Representatives of these United States, or revive a friendship with the citizens at large, and remain among us as long as they please.

"You are undoubtedly acquainted with the only terms on which Congress can treat for accomplishing this good end; terms, from which, although writing in a private character, I may venture to assert with great assurance, they never will recede, even admitting the continuance of hostile attempts, and that, from the rage of war, the good people of these States shall be driven to commence a treaty westward of yonder mountains. And permit me to add, Sir, as my humble



I also take the liberty of transmitting to your care some letters from disconsolate relations, who look up for relief from the measures in view, persuaded you will forward them safe. I beg to be esteemed, in every private consideration, your great admirer,

And obedient servant,

GEORGE JOHNSTONE.

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FROM FRANCIS DANA.\*

York, 11 June, 1778.

DEAR SIR,

I had the honor, last evening, of your favor of the

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opinion, the true interest of Great Britain, in the present advance of the contest, will be found in confirming our independence.

"Congress, in no hour, have been haughty; but to suppose that their minds are less firm in the present than they were when destitute of all foreign aid, even without expectation of an alliance; when, upon a day of general public fasting and humiliation, in their house of worship and in the presence of God, they resolved 'to hold no conference or treaty with any Commissioners on the part of Great Britain unless they shall, as a preliminary thereto, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or, in positive and express terms, acknowledge the independence of these States,' would be irrational.

"At a proper time, Sir, I shall think myself highly honored by a personal attention, and by contributing to render every part of these States agreeable to you; but, until the basis of mutual confidence shall be established, I believe, Sir, neither former private friendships, nor any other consideration, can influence Congress to consent that even Governor Johnstone, a gentleman who has been so deservedly esteemed in America, shall see the country. I have but one voice, and that shall be against it. But, let me entreat you, my dear Sir, do not hence conclude that I am deficient in affection to my old friends, through whose kindness I have obtained the honor of the present correspondence; or, that I am not, with very great personal respect and esteem, Sir,

"Your most obedient and most humble servant,

"HENRY LAURENS."

\* Delegate in Congress from Massachusetts, and a member of the Committee appointed by Congress to consult with General Washington, at Valley Forge, on a new system of arrangements for the administration of the army.

Wh. instand, requesting me to repair to camp, to assist in the business of arranging the army, as soon as possible. Although I am impressed with the necessity of that business being finished without delay, yet I cannot, in duty to the State I represent, quit Congress till the Confederation is ratified, which I hope will be done in a few days. In the mean time, the arrangement may go on, as General Reed will doubtless be at hand to assist you. He has paid a particular attention to the battalions of this State; those of Maryland, on account of their distance from your camp, the Committee could make no inquiry about. These, also, may be arranged without any assistance from me; and, indeed, I know nothing about either of them. Those to which I paid a particular attention were the battalions of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Jersey, and Virginia; the last of which may be settled by conferring with the General Officers of that line, whose recommendation we followed.

I will get the necessary papers from Mr. Morris, and forward them to you, with the hope of taking some labor from off your hands. I should have been happy to have given my immediate attendance in camp. I trust by the time you, with the assistance of General Reed, may have gone through the battalions of this State, Maryland, and Virginia, to have the pleasure of affording you in this business all the assistance in my power. I am, dear Sir, with much respect and esteem,

Your most obedient and obliged, humble servant,

FRANCIS DANA.

P. S. Should Mrs. Washington be with you, you will be pleased to make my most respectful compliments acceptable to her.

FROM BRIGADIER-GENERAL KNOX.

Artillery Park, 15 June, 1778.

SIR,

I feel myself so embarrassed in the duties of the department, of which I have the honor to be the head, by the Regulations of Congress of the 12th of February last, that I beg the favor of your Excellency to represent the matter to that honorable body for further consideration. The awkward situation in which I am, without any of the powers appertaining to the rank of Commanding Officer of Artillery, the expectations from me, without the ability to comply, and the bad consequences that may arise to the service in general, induce me to make this representation; and I hope the importance of the subject will be a sufficient excuse for the trouble it may give your Excellency or Congress.

In all considerable armies in Europe, a General Officer has the command and direction of the artillery, and the preparation of every thing pertaining to the ordnance department, and of all species of arms and accoutrements, offensive and defensive, belonging to a soldier. As his charge is very extensive, he is allowed, for his assistance, commissaries, clerks, conductors, founders, and artificers, of all branches necessary to his profession; all of whom are immediately under his direction and receive his orders, and he receives orders and renders an account of his conduct to the State that employs him.

In the British service, the Master-General of Ordnance, or the Commander-in-chief of the Artillery, has a Board of Ordnance, over which he presides, and regulates every thing relating to the artillery. This Board consists of the Surveyor-General of the Artil-

bery, Clerk of the Ordnance, Storekeepers, and Clerk of the Deliveries. There cannot be an instance pointed out, in any service, where the Commissaries or Clerks are made independent and unamenable to the Commanding Officer of Artillery, as in the Regulations of the Ordnance Department of February 12th.

It is certainly proper that every head of a department should have the direction of all parts of it; otherwise he cannot be considered as amenable for any deficiencies, which are out of his power to remedy. In the late Regulations, the Commander of the Artillery has no power to give the dimensions or construction of any carriages or cannon, however erroneous they may be; or directions for making post-fires, tubes, fuzes, and a thousand other matters, in which his profession and the reputation of his corps are intimately concerned, and on which the success of actions may depend.

I have made such minutes for alterations of the Regulations alluded to as appear to be indispensably necessary for the good of the service, and annexed them to the resolves. If the Honorable Congress think proper to adopt them, I shall be happy, as I shall then be in a post to serve my country with reputation. I am, with the greatest respect, your Excellency's

Most obedient, humble servant,

HENRY KNOX.

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Yorktown, 18 June, 1778.

DEAR SIR,

It has not been in my power, with any conve-

nience, to make an earlier acknowledgment of your Excellency's favor of the 11th.

There were letters in the Commissioners' packet only for Congress, and particular members then present in the House. One, for Mr. E. Rutledge, unsealed, and several, also unsealed, were brought, as being taken from the express. The utmost caution is necessary, in the present conjuncture of our affairs; and, therefore, had any suspicious directions turned up, such should have passed under the eye of Congress. The idea of opening other people's letters is exceedingly abhorrent to me; but I think Congress have a power over letters equal, at least, to that which necessity obliges them sometimes to exercise over persons; but Governor Johnstone is too well hackneyed in the ways of men to trust his deep schemes within our reach.

His private letter to me, by the by, is, notwithstanding all his good sense, no proof of an infallible judgment; I am sure it is one of his having mistaken his man. I take the liberty of transmitting it, together with my intended answer, and the letters from Mr. Oswald and Mr. Manning, under this cover, for your Excellency's perusal. There are some traits in Mr. Oswald's, which strongly imply a determination, on the part of Great Britain, but reserved as the ultimatum, to submit to our independence. I am much inclined to believe the Commissioners now are, or soon will be, vested with powers for that purpose. Mr. Oswald is a gentleman of solid understanding and quick perception, of a very large, independent fortune, much exceeding a quarter of a million sterling; often consulted by administration. For the goodness of his heart, I refer you to this particular part of his character; he is no placeman, but much

esteemed by the first men of each of the political parties. Great reliance may be placed upon what he writes, or even hints.

Yesterday there was an extraordinary motion on our floor for calling upon members to lay before Congress such letters as they had received from the Commissioners, or other persons, meaning persons in Great Britain, on political subjects. I could not forbear offering some objections. It appeared to be a dangerous attempt to stretch the power of Congress. My letters had been read by many members, and were at the service of every gentleman who should request a perusal; but I would never consent to have my property taken from me by an order from my fellow-citizens, destitute of authority for the purpose. This circumstance, and some remarks that followed, have induced me to put Governor Johnstone's letter, and my intended answer, into Mr. Drayton's hands, who is collecting materials for displaying the Governor's good designs, and no doubt he will, according to his usual tone, add pretty severe strictures. Among other papers, I transmit to your Excellency copies of the Commissioners' Address to Congress, and of their commission. These are to be published by order. If no mistake was made, the copy of the answer of Congress was sent to your Excellency yesterday, in my public letter.\*

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\* These papers, with many others relating to the proceedings of the Commissioners, may be found in Almon's *Remembrancer*, Vol. VII. p. 8 & Vol. VIII. pp. 49-52.

The following is an extract from a letter written by Josiah Bartlett, a Delegate in Congress from New Hampshire, to Mr. Whipple, of the same State, dated Yorktown, June 20th.

"I have the pleasure to inform you that every member of Congress was firm and steady, never to make a peace, but on the principles of absolute independence. I am sorry that the answer was deferred some

I pray God to support and direct your Excellency in this moment of extraordinary trial; and I am, with the most sincere esteem and regard, dear Sir, your much obliged and obedient humble servant,

HENRY LAURENS.

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FROM MAJOR-GENERAL ARNOLD.

Philadelphia, 10 o'clock, P. M.;  
22 June, 1778.

DEAR GENERAL.

Your Excellency's favor of the 21st, respecting the militia, I received at three o'clock this evening, and immediately had as many inhabitants collected at the Coffee-House as I could notify. Fifty volunteers have engaged to go with General Cadwalader, who this minute informs me he expects to collect a considerable number more in the morning, in the city. I cannot flatter myself with procuring many in the vicinity. These are unarmed. Search is making for all the arms in the city. I have ventured to order Colonel Jackson to march at three o'clock to-morrow morning, with the troops under his command. These, with the volunteers, and four hundred men now in the enemy's rear, will make a formidable body. Their places are supplied by Colonel Proctor's regiment, who will do garrison duty until a sufficient number of

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days, on account of the zeal of some members for sealing the letters up, and sending them back, without reading, in consequence of some harsh expressions against the King of France. However, it was overruled, as you will see, and a more proper method, in my opinion, taken. What will be their next steps, time only will discover. In the packet to Congress were inclosed a great number of letters to the separate members. Some from Governor Johnstone to such of the members as he was acquainted with, and others from other persons in England, who had any acquaintance with them."



convalescents can arrive than Valley Forge; for which purpose I intend giving an order, which I trust, will meet your Excellency's approbation.

One hundred and odd deserters from the enemy have arrived in town this day. The whole number is little short of three hundred, and great numbers, I am informed, are scattered through the Jerseys.

Your Excellency's favor of yesterday, by the Indians, was delivered to me this evening. Particular attention shall be paid to the contents. I am, with the greatest respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,  
BENEDICT ARNOLD.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GATES.

Peekskill, 25 June, 1778.

SIR,

To prevent the enemy's army, now marching across the Jerseys, from receiving any considerable reënforcement from the troops in and near New York, I propose moving the main body of this army to the White Plains, and shall take a strong camp in that neighbourhood. I have all my cavalry, and a considerable body of infantry, now properly posted between the two rivers, to intercept the enemy's parties, and cut off their communication with the interior country, which has also given the alarm of an attack being meditated upon New York, as confirmed by good intelligence, which Colonel Graham assures me he has received. Probably the slow movements of the enemy, joined to the obstructions thrown in their way, may so retard their march through the Jerseys as to give your Excellency an opportunity to harass them exceedingly with your dragoons and light in-

fantry, aided by the militia, which will most assuredly produce, amongst other good things, a considerable desertion, and, perhaps, finally such an opening as may enable your Excellency to make a glorious finishing of the war. I should apprehend the enemy's resources for provisions on their march must be scanty; and, if they are once obliged to take a fixed position, or force your army from a very strong one, their desperation may be their ruin.

In order to eke out the magazine, I have increased the quantity of flour and rice, and reduced the meat. Of the two former we have large supplies. I think a quantity of cured shad might be sent us from the southward. I am, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,  
HORATIO GATES.

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FROM COLONEL HAMILTON.

Robins's Tavern, 8 miles from Allentown;  
12 o'clock; 26 June, 1778.

SIR,

We have halted the troops at this place. The enemy, by our last reports, were four miles from this (that is, their rear), and had passed the road which turns off towards South Amboy, which determines their route towards Shrewsbury. Our reason for halting is the extreme distress of the troops for want of provisions. General Wayne's detachment is almost starving, and seem both unwilling and unable to march further, till they are supplied. If we do not receive an immediate supply, the whole purpose of our detachment must be frustrated.

This morning we missed doing any thing from a deficiency of intelligence. On my arrival at Cran-

morning yesterday evening, I proceeded, by desire of the Marquis, immediately to Hightstown and Allentown, to take measures for coöperating with the different parts of the detachment, and to find what was doing to procure intelligence. I found every precaution was neglected; no horse was near the enemy, or could be heard of till late in the morning; so that, before we could send out parties and get the necessary information, they were in full march; and, as they have marched pretty expeditiously, we should not be able to come up with them during the march of the day, if we did not suffer the impediment we do on the score of provisions. We are entirely at a loss where the army is, which is no inconsiderable check to our enterprise. If the army is wholly out of supporting distance, we risk the total loss of the detachment in making an attack.

If the army will countenance us, we may do something clever. We feel our personal honor, as well as the honor of the army and the good of the service interested, and are heartily desirous to attempt whatever the disposition of our men will second, and prudence authorize. It is evident the enemy wish to avoid, not to engage us.

Desertions, I imagine, have been pretty considerable to-day. I have seen eight or ten deserters, and have heard of many more. We have had some little skirmishing by detached parties. One attacked their rear-guard with a degree of success, killed a few, and took seven prisoners. I am, with great respect and regard, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

P. S. The Marquis and General Dickinson send

their compliments. My writing renders theirs unnecessary.

An officer just comes in, who informs me that he left the enemy's rear five miles off, still in march, about half an hour ago. To ascertain still more fully their route, I have ordered a fresh party on their left, towards the head of their column. They have three brigades in rear of their baggage.

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FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Hightstown, at a quarter after 7, 26 June, 1778.

DEAR GENERAL,

I hope you have received my letter from Cranberry, where I acquaint you that I am going to Hightstown, though we are short of provisions. When I got there, I was sorry to hear that Mr. Hamilton, who had been riding all the night, had not been able to find anybody who could give him certain intelligence; but, by a party who came back, I hear the enemy are in motion, and their rear about one mile off the place they had occupied last night, which is seven or eight miles from here. I immediately put Generals Maxwell's and Wayne's brigades in motion, and I will fall lower down, with General Scott's, with Jackson's regiment, and some militia. I should be very happy if we could attack them before they halt, for I have no notion of taking one other moment but this of the march. If I cannot overtake them, we could lay at some distance, and attack to-morrow morning, provided they don't escape in the night, which I much fear, as our intelligences are not the

best ones. I have sent some parties out, and I will get some more light by them.

I know your Excellency will move down with the army, and if we are at a convenient distance from you, I have nothing to fear in striking a blow, if opportunity is offered. I believe that, in our present strength, *provided they die not escape*, we may do something. General Forman says that, on account of the nature of the country, it is impossible for me to be turned by the right or left; but that I shall not quite depend upon.

An officer, just from the lines, confirms the account of the enemy moving. An intelligence from General Dickinson says, that they hear a very heavy fire in the front of the enemy's column. I apprehend it is Morgan, who had not received my letter; but it will have the good effect of stopping them, and, if we attack, he may begin again.

Sir, I want to repeat to you, in writing, what I have told to you, which is, that, if you believe it, or if it is believed necessary or useful to the good of the service and the honor of General Lee, to send him down with a couple of thousand men, or any greater force, I will cheerfully obey and serve him, not only out of duty, but out of what I owe to that gentleman's character.

I hope to receive soon your orders, as to what I am to do this day or to-morrow; to know where you are, and what you intend; and would be very happy to furnish you with the opportunity of completing some little advantage of ours.

LAFAYETTE.

P. S. The road I understand the enemy are moving by, is the straight road to Monmouth.

FROM COLONEL HAMILTON.

28 June, 1778.

SIR,

The result of what I have seen and heard concerning the enemy is, that they have encamped with their van a little beyond Monmouth Court-House, and their rear at Manalapan's River, about seven miles from this place. Their march to-day has been very judiciously conducted, — their baggage in front and their flying army in the rear, with a rear-guard of one thousand men, about four hundred paces from the main body. To attack them in this situation, without being supported by the whole army, would be folly in the extreme. If it should be thought advisable to give the necessary support, the army can move to some position near the enemy's left flank, which would put them in a very awkward situation, with so respectable a body in their rear; and it would put it out of their power to turn either flank, should they be so disposed. Their left is strongly posted, and I am told their right also. By some accounts, one part of his army lies on the road leading from the Monmouth road to South Amboy. It is not improbable that South Amboy may be the object.

I had written thus far when your letter to the Marquis arrived. This puts the matter on a totally different footing. The detachment will march to-morrow morning, at three o'clock, to Englishtown. I am, with great esteem and respect,

Your obedient servant,

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

FROM BRIGADIER-GENERALS WAYNE AND SCOTT.

Englishtown, 30 June, 1778.

SIR,

We esteem it a duty, which we owe to our country, ourselves, and the officers and soldiers under our command, to state the following facts to your Excellency.

On the 28th instant, at five o'clock in the morning, we received orders to march with the following detachments, namely, Scott's and Varnum's brigades, Colonels Butler and Jackson in front, amounting to seventeen hundred men; Colonels Wesson, Livingston, and Stewart, with one thousand men, commanded by General Wayne; a select detachment of fourteen hundred men, rank and file, under General Scott, with ten pieces of artillery properly distributed among the whole.

About eight o'clock, the van under Colonel Butler arrived on the left of Monmouth Court-House, on the rear of the left flank of the enemy, who were in full march, moving in great haste and confusion. At this time our main body, under General Lee, were formed at the edge of a wood about half a mile distant from the Court-House. General Wayne, who was in front reconnoitring the enemy, perceiving that they had made a halt, and were preparing to push Colonel Butler with their horse and a few foot, gave direction for him to form and receive them, and at the same time sent Major Byles to General Lee, requesting that those troops might be advanced to support those in front, and for the whole to form on the edge of a deep morass, which extends from the east of the Court-House on the right a very consider-



able distance to the left. The troops did arrive in about an hour after the requisition, and were generally formed in this position.

About the same time, General Scott's detachment had passed the morass on the left, and the enemy's horse and foot, that had charged Colonel Butler, were repulsed. The number of the enemy now in view might be near two thousand, though at first not more than five hundred, exclusive of their horse. The ground we now occupied was the best formed by nature for defence of any, perhaps, in this country. The enemy advanced with caution, keeping at a considerable distance in front. General Scott, having viewed the position of the enemy, as well as the ground where about twenty-five hundred of our troops were formed, repassed the morass and took post on the left, in a fine open wood, covered by said morass in front.

Whilst this was doing, General Wayne, perceiving that the troops on the right, from the wood to the Court-House, were retreating, sent Major Fishbourn to General Lee, requesting that the troops might return to support him. In the interim General Wayne repassed the morass, leaving Colonel Butler's regiment to keep post on the right flank of the enemy. Generals Scott and Wayne then went together along the morass to the Court-House, when Major Fishbourn returned, and said that General Lee gave no other answer, than that he would see General Wayne himself, which he never did. The enemy, having now an opening on the right of General Scott, began to move on, when General Wayne and General Scott sent to General Lee to request him at least to form, to favor General Scott's retreat; but this requisition met with the same fate as the last. The troops kept still

retreating, when General Scott, perceiving that he would not be supported, filed off by the left. General Wayne ordered Colonel Butler to fall back also. Thus were these several select detachments unaccountably drawn off without being suffered to come to action, although we had the most pleasing prospect, from our numbers and position, of obtaining the most glorious and decisive victory. After this, we fortunately fell in with your Excellency. You ordered us to form part of those troops, whose conduct and bravery kept the enemy in play, until you had restored order.

We have taken the liberty of stating these facts, in order to convince the world that our retreat from the Court-House was not occasioned by the want of numbers, position, or wishes of both officers and men to maintain that post. We also beg leave to mention, that no plan of attack was ever communicated to us, or notice of a retreat, until it had taken place in our rear, as we supposed by General Lee's order. We are, &c.,

ANTHONY WAYNE,  
CHARLES SCOTT.

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FROM COLONEL MORGAN.

Middletown, 9 o'clock, 2 July, 1778.

SIR,

I came to this place early yesterday morning; the enemy had left it the night before; their main body is encamped about three miles from the town; their rear within a mile; we are in full view of each other. I am, and have been ever since I came out, at a great loss for light-horse, having none with me. General Scott sent me a sergeant and six, whose horses

were tired, and were rather an incumbrance, as they could scarcely raise a gallop. Major Jameson was here yesterday. I applied to him for a few; he sent Captain Harrison, who staid with me about two hours, when Colonel Moylan sent for him and his party. Colonel Moylan certainly has reasons for so doing; but, Sir, you know the cavalry are the eyes of the infantry, and without any, my situation must not be very pleasing, being in full view of the enemy's whole army.

My advance engaged their rear yesterday. They reënforced, and sent a column on each flank. We retreated to a hill at this end of the town. They retreated to their own ground; a few were killed. I had one slightly wounded; but had no horse till Cornet Dorsey luckily came up. I am, with esteem,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

DANIEL MORGAN.

FROM WILLIAM HENRY DRAYTON.\*

Philadelphia, 5 July, 1778

SIR,

While I am sensible that I hazard your Excellency's censure of my discretion, yet I cannot resist the impulse I feel to pay you my little tribute of thanks for the important victory of Monmouth, and to express how much I feel myself tenderly and anxiously interested in every thing respecting your safety and glory. Your Excellency's invariable conduct naturally exposes you to such intrusions, and I rely upon it that your good nature will pardon this.

Personally almost unknown to you as I am, yet,

\* A Delegate in Congress from South Carolina.

Sir, this obstacle is too weak to prevent a gratification on my part which gives me the highest pleasure. Somehow or other, nature has composed me of materials which are apt to force the bounds of common decorum, when my affections and gratitude are excited.

That your Excellency's life may long be preserved in your glorious and disinterested defence of your country, and in the enjoyment of the fruits of your labors and victories, is my most fervent prayer; being, Sir, your Excellency's

Most obliged and most humble servant,

WILLIAM HENRY DRAYTON.

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FROM THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, 7 July, 1778.

DEAR SIR,

I have had the honor of presenting, to as many members of Congress as have been convened in this city since the adjournment from York, your Excellency's several favors of the 28th and 30th of June, and 1st instant, and, at their special instance, have caused them to be printed, for the information of the public.

I arrived here on Tuesday last, but hitherto have not collected a sufficient number of States to form a Congress; consequently I have received no commands. Your Excellency will therefore be pleased to accept this as the address of an individual, intended to assure you, Sir, of my hearty congratulations with my countrymen on the success of the American arms, under your Excellency's immediate command, in the late battle of Monmouth, and more particularly of my own

happiness in the additional glory achieved by your Excellency in retrieving the honor of these States in the moment of an alarming dilemma.

It is not my design to attempt encomiums upon your Excellency. I am as unequal to the task as the act is unnecessary. Love and respect for your Excellency is impressed on the heart of every grateful American, and your name will be revered by posterity. Our acknowledgments are especially due to Heaven for the preservation of your Excellency's person, necessarily exposed, for the salvation of America, to the most imminent danger in the late action. That the same hand may at all times guide and shield your Excellency, is the fervent wish of, dear Sir,

Your much obliged and faithful humble servant,

HENRY LAURENS.

FROM COUNT D'ESTAING.

At Sea, 8 July, 1778.

SIR,

I have the honor of imparting to your Excellency the arrival of the King's fleet, charged by his Majesty with the glorious task of giving his allies, the United States of America, the most striking proofs of his affection. Nothing will be wanting to my happiness, if I can succeed in it. It is augmented by the consideration of concerting my operations with a General such as your Excellency. The talents and great actions of General Washington have insured him, in the eyes of all Europe, the title, truly sublime, of Deliverer of America. Accept, Sir, the homage that every man, that every military man, owes you; and be not displeased that I solicit, even in the first moment of intercourse, with military and maritime

friendship, a friendship so flattering as yours. I will try to render myself worthy of it by my respectful devotion for your country. It is prescribed to me by orders, and my heart inspires it.

I have the honor of rendering an account to Congress of the letter I write to your Excellency. M. de Chouin, Major of Infantry in the King's service, has orders to present you this. I pray you to grant the most extensive confidence to all this officer shall tell you on my part. He is a near relation to M. de Sartine. This Minister has been long since known for his attachment to the common cause. It is less the desire of pleasing a statesman, honored with the confidence of the King, which has determined me to send to you M. Chouin, than an opinion of his military knowledge, the clearness of his ideas, and the precision with which he will communicate mine. I beseech you to grant him your kindness. I have the honor to be, with respect, Sir, your Excellency's

Most humble and most obedient servant,

ESTAING.

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FROM COUNT D'ESTAING.

In the Road without Sandy Hook, 13 July, 1778.

SIR,

The desire of communicating speedily with your Excellency determines me to make a debarkation on the coast of Jersey, in a village which, according to the map, is to the northward of the river Shrewsbury. If our common enemy are in possession, and can be driven from it, I shall fulfil the object of my descent. An instant of liberty will suffice for a good patriot to show himself. Every citizen will be eager to convey my homage to the Deliverer of his country. The

first moments are so precious, above all upon sea, that it may be of the greatest importance for me to be informed, four-and-twenty hours sooner or later, of the projects of your Excellency. I have orders to second them. I dare assure you that I will do it to the utmost of my power. To act in concert with a great man is the first of blessings; it is one of those which flatter me the most in the commission with which I am honored. An apprehension that the letter, of which I have now the honor to send a duplicate, may not come to hand till late, makes me hazard a step, the motive for which must be the excuse.

I have the honor to be,  
ESTAING.

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FROM COUNT D'ESTAING.

In the Road without Sandy Hook, 17 July, 1778.

SIR,

The bar of the River Shrewsbury, the officer, sailors, and boats that I have lost in the waves, have not hindered Colonel Laurens from braving them twice, to come and deliver me himself the letter that you did me the honor to write me on the 14th of this month. The desire of communicating with you alone would have induced me to hazard a descent myself the first, and with four grenadiers as my only support, in a place, the debarkation of which is as difficult as it was unknown; and where there existed not a single spot proper for embarkation. The sacrifice of several of my men appeared to me less affecting, as it was the sole means of communication I could have.

I have occupied myself less with discovering the number of English vessels of war in the Road of



Sandy Hook, than the means of entering it. I suppose there are fourteen vessels of war, a throng of frigates, and a multitude of transports. This superiority of number, and the goodness of the English navy, will not hinder me from attacking Lord Howe in his retrenchment, and under his batteries, if the depth of the water do not forbid me. I only received three pilots yesterday; they have need of re-collecting their ideas, and are at this time sounding the river. The hope of giving you something positive on this head engaged me to pray your estimable, well-informed, and most amiable Aid-de-camp, to pass a bad night on board the Languedoc.

He will give you an account, Sir, of the regret I shall feel, if this powerful mark of friendship, which the King has given his allies, who are so dear to him, should not prove of so great utility as he might promise himself.

I will not enter into any further detail in this letter. Mr. Laurens will tell you more than I can write. But it will be very important that the arrival of so great a naval succour should produce at the same time a general effort by land. If, unfortunately, that should be impossible, you are too good a patriot and too good a soldier not to feel the necessity I shall be under of going to seek elsewhere an opportunity of injuring our common enemy. The places that you shall point out to me will appear to me preferable, whenever naval circumstances and the state of my supplies will permit. It is with the greatest pleasure that I learn, from M. Gerard, the King's Minister, that you are clothed with the most ample powers to treat with me on military operations. I cannot act, either far or near, under the auspices of a greater master. You are a master; and

you know that, the instant one thing becomes ; we ought to attempt another.

I have received a printed list of the eleven English vessels of the line, which are announced to us on very good part. This news, published by the order of Congress, acquires an authenticity which merits the highest attention.

Accept my compliments upon your last victory. Even were not the success of America our own, by the intimate bands which bind us together, it would be impossible, as a soldier and as a man, not to participate in it. It is natural to love to see one laurel more adorning the brow of a great man. I have the honor to be, with respect,

Your very humble, and very obedient servant,  
ESTAING.

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FROM THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

(Private.)

Philadelphia, 18 July, 1778.

DEAR SIR,

Yesterday I had the honor of writing to your Excellency a public letter by James Martin, and also of presenting to Congress your Excellency's favor of the 14th, which the House received with satisfaction.

Permit me, Sir, to recommend to your Excellency's protection two packets from the *Sieur Gerard* to *Count d'Estaing*, which will accompany this. I have assured *Monsieur Gerard* that it is altogether unnecessary to urge your Excellency to give these despatches the quickest safe passage to the *Vice-Admiral*.

Prizes are finding the way into the *Delaware*. One,

laden with rum, limes, &c., intended for the enemy's refreshment, embayed one of our wharves the evening before last, and I learn a rich ship is on her way up.

I have this moment received a second letter from the British Commissioners. If I dared to venture an opinion, from a very cursory reading of the performance, it would be that this is more puerile than any thing I have seen from the other side since the commencement of our present dispute, with a little dash of insolence, as unnecessary as it will be unavailing. If the Marquis de Vienne will indulge me, till I return from Congress, your Excellency will find a copy of that letter within this. At present, as he is on the wing, I must send to obtain his permission; and in order to be quite ready, in case he shall refuse to wait, I conclude this with repeated assurances of being, with the highest esteem and respect, dear Sir, your Excellency's

Obliged and obedient, humble servant,

HENRY LAURENS.

P. S. Returned from Congress at 9 o'clock. A resolve, relative to the Commissioners' letter, that it ought not to be answered, &c., with the letter, will appear in print.

FROM COLONEL HAMILTON.

Black Point, 20 July, 1778.

SIR,

Inclosed I transmit your Excellency a letter from Count d'Estaing. He has had the river sounded, and finds he cannot enter. He will sail for Rhode Island

to-morrow evening; in the mean time, he is making demonstrations to deceive the enemy, and beget an opinion that he intends to operate in this quarter. He would sail immediately, but he waits the arrival, or to hear, of a frigate which carried M. Gerard to Delaware, and which he appointed to meet him at Sandy Hook, so that he fears his sudden and unexpected departure, before she arrives, might cause her to be lost. He will not, however, wait longer than till to-morrow evening. We have agreed that five cannon, fired briskly, shall be a signal of his arrival by day, and the same number, with five sky-rockets, a signal by night.

In communicating this to General Sullivan, the Count wishes not a moment may be lost, and that he may be directed to have persons stationed on the coast, and intermediate expresses to facilitate the communication between them. Pilots will be a material article. He begs every thing may be forwarded as much as possible, and as many troops collected as may be. He would be glad if a detachment could march from your army, or could be sent by water, for which purpose he would send covering ships and some vessels he has taken by way of transports; but he cannot think of losing so much time as seems necessary. If the water scheme could shorten it, it would be a happy circumstance. He recommends it to your attention, and that you would take measures, if the end can be better answered in this way, and meet him with information of the part he may have to act to execute the plan. I perceive he can with difficulty debark four thousand troops, but he will try to do it. I am, Sir,

Your most respectful and obedient servant,

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

P. S. I hope your Excellency will excuse my not being myself the bearer of these particulars; the end may be answered by letter. Mr. Neville is anxious to get on. I have just heard of despatches arrived from you; I don't know but they may contain something new, which may make the Count wish a good conveyance to return an answer. My stay till tomorrow morning may answer that end. I shall not delay coming forward.

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FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Camp at the Plains, 21 July, 1778.

SIR,

Your Excellency has made me very unhappy. I can submit very patiently to deserved censure; but it wounds my feelings exceedingly to meet with a rebuke for doing what I conceived to be a proper part of my duty, and in the order of things.

When I left your Excellency at Haverstraw, you desired me to go forward and reconnoitre the country, and fix upon some proper position to draw the troops together at. I was a stranger to all this part of the country, and could form no judgment of a proper place, until I had thoroughly examined the ground.

Croton River was the only place I could find suitable to the purpose, all circumstances being taken into consideration. I wrote your Excellency what I had done, and where I was, that if you had any thing in charge I might receive your orders. I wrote you the reasons for my not waiting upon you in person were, I had many letters to answer, and

many matters to regulate in my department, which prevented me from returning.\* Besides which, it was almost half a day's ride, the weather exceeding hot, and myself not a little fatigued. And here I must observe, that neither my constitution nor strength is equal to constant exercise.

As I was a stranger to all the lower country, I thought it absolutely necessary for me to come forward. A thorough knowledge of the country is not easily obtained; such a one, at least, as is necessary to fix upon the most eligible position for forming a camp. The security of the army, the ease and convenience of the troops, as well as to perform the duties of my office with a degree of reputation, all conspired to make me wish to fix upon the properest ground for the purpose. This it was impossible for me to do, unless I came on before the troops. And I must confess I saw no objection, as your Excellency had wrote me nothing to the contrary, and what I wrote naturally led to such a measure.

I expected you on every hour, and was impatient to get forward that I might be able to give some account of the country when you came up. Before I left Crompond, I desired Mr. Pettit to wait upon you at your arrival, and take your orders, and if there was any thing special to forward it by express.

If I had neglected my duty in pursuit of pleasure, or if I had been wanting in respect to your Excel-

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\* General Greene was appointed Quartermaster-General by Congress on the 3d of March, and he had since performed the duties of that office in addition to his regular service in the army as Major-General. The Quarter-master's department had become much deranged during the preceding campaign, and General Greene was prevailed upon to accept the appointment as the most proper person, by his energy and ability, to bring it into order, and establish an effective system.

lency, I would have put my hand upon my mouth, and been silent upon the occasion; but, as I am not conscious of being chargeable with either the one or the other, I cannot help thinking I have been treated with a degree of severity that I am in no respect deserving. And I would just observe here, that it is impossible for me to do my duty if I am always at head-quarters. I have ever given my attendance there as much as possible, both from a sense of duty and from inclination; but constant attendance is out of my power, unless I neglect all other matters; the propriety of which, and the consequences that will follow, I submit to your Excellency's consideration.

Your Excellency well knows how I came into this department. It was by your special request, and you must be sensible there is no other man upon earth would have brought me into the business but you. The distress the department was in, the disgrace that must accompany your operations without a change, and the difficulty of engaging a person capable of conducting the business, together with the hopes of meeting your approbation, and having your full aid and assistance, reconciled me to the undertaking.

I flatter myself, when your Excellency takes a view of the state things were in when I first engaged, and consider the short time we had to make the preparations for the opening campaign, and reflect with what ease and facility you began your march from Valley Forge, and continued it all through the country, notwithstanding we went great part of the way entirely out of the line of preparations, you will do me the justice to say I have not been negligent or inattentive to my duty.

I have, in every respect, since I had my appointment, strove to accommodate the business of the de-



partment to the plan of your Excellency's operations. And I can say, with great truth, that ever since I had the honor to serve under you, I have been more attentive to the public interest, and more engaged in the support of your Excellency's character, than ever I was to my own ease, interest, or reputation.

I have never solicited you for a furlough to go home to indulge in pleasure, or to improve my interest, which, by the by, I have neglected, going on four years. I have never confined myself to my particular line of duty only. Neither have I ever spared myself, either by night or day, where it has been necessary to promote the public service under your direction. I have never been troublesome to your Excellency, to publish any thing to my advantage, although I think myself as justly entitled as some others, who have been much more fortunate, particularly in the action of the Brandywine.

I have never suffered my pleasures to interfere with my duty; and I am persuaded I have given too many unequivocal proofs of my attachment to your person and interest, to leave a doubt upon your mind to the contrary. I have always given you my opinion with great candor, and executed your orders with equal fidelity. I do not mean to arrogate to myself more merit than I deserve, or wish to exculpate myself from being chargeable with error, and in some instances negligence. However, I can speak, with a becoming pride, that I have always endeavoured to deserve the public esteem, and your Excellency's approbation.

As I came into the Quarter-master's department with reluctance, so I shall leave it with pleasure. Your influence brought me in, and the want of your approbation will induce me to go out.

I am very sensible of many deficiencies, but this is not so justly chargeable to my intentions, as to the difficult circumstances attending the business. It is almost impossible to get good men for the conducting all parts of so complex a business. It may, therefore, naturally be expected that many things will wear an unfavorable complexion; but, let who will undertake the business, they will find it very difficult, not to say impossible, to regulate it in such a manner as not to leave a door open for censure, and furnish a handle for reproach. I am, with all due respect, your Excellency's

Most obedient, humble servant,  
NATHANAEL GREENE.

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FROM COLONEL HAMILTON.

Newark, 23 July, 1778.

Sir,

I wrote to your Excellency, the evening of the 20th, by Major Neville. I remained in the neighbourhood of Black Point till the afternoon following. The Count had received his expected despatches from Congress, and was to sail, as I mentioned before, the first fair wind. At Brunswick, yesterday, Mr. Caldwell joined me. He was immediately from the Point, and brought intelligence that the fleet got under way yesterday morning. The wind, unfortunately, has been much against them, which is so much the more to be regretted, as they are rather in want of water. I need not suggest to your Excellency that an essential part of the Rhode Island plan is, to take every possible measure to watch the enemy's mo-

tions, and to establish the expresses from place to place, to give the Count instant information of any movement among their fleet. This will enable him to be in time to intercept them, should they attempt to evacuate New York while he is at Rhode Island, and will, in general, facilitate the intercourse and co-operation between him and your Excellency.

I have nothing new to communicate, besides what was sent by Major Neville, and what I now send. All the ideas interchanged between the Count and myself were such as were familiar before I left head-quarters. He was to go to Rhode Island, and, in conjunction with General Sullivan, endeavour to possess himself of the enemy's ships and troops there, if, on his arrival, he had good reason to think it could be effected without further assistance. If not, he will be glad of a reënforcement from you in the most expeditious manner possible. What manner you think will be most expeditious, you will adopt; and, if his aid may be useful, he will afford it as soon as he is informed of it.

This being the case, my immediate presence at head-quarters is the less necessary, as to this business; and I hope your Excellency will indulge me, if I do not make all the despatch back which a case of emergency would require, though I do not mean to delay more than a moderate attention to my frail constitution may make not improper.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

FROM GOVERNOR CLINTON.

Poughkeepsie, 24 July, 1778.

DEAR SIR,

I have received your letter of the 23d instant, inclosing one to General Schuyler, which I immediately forwarded to him. I am sensible that, however distressing the situation of our western frontier may be, your Excellency has taken every method to afford it security that is in your power, consistent with the general good of the service. I would not wish, therefore, that any representation of mine should occasion a diminution of your present force; and, as Colonel Graham's regiment is composed of men who are intimately acquainted with every part of the country between the enemy's lines and yours, and may be of peculiar service where they now are, I would beg leave to submit to your Excellency's further consideration, whether it would not be most advisable to continue it with you at present; in which case, I will endeavour to call out a larger proportion of the militia for the defence of the frontiers. This, I think, the militia ought cheerfully to submit to, as, if they were not required for that service, it would be but reasonable that they should march to reënforce the army under your Excellency's immediate command.

I have already ordered out one fourth part of the militia of Orange and Ulster to the western frontier of those counties, who will amount to near six hundred men, and have directed them to take their stations so as to secure the most important passes leading into the settlements. If they do this, and are vigilant, I trust that part of the country will experience a degree of safety. In addition to this, I have

issued positive orders to Brigadier-General Ten Broeck, and the commanding officers of the several regiments in Tryon county, to detach one fourth of their militia (such regiments as may be necessary for the safety of the northern frontier excepted) for the protection of the western frontier in that quarter, and to act under and assist Colonel Butler in any offensive operations which may be thought necessary to be carried on by him against the enemy.

Colonel Butler (whose march, on receiving the intelligence I lately transmitted to your Excellency, I wished to be hastened) was this morning at New Windsor, and will proceed directly to Albany, and from thence to Schoharie or Cherry Valley, as General Stark (whose department he will then be in) shall direct; and, if joined by Alden's regiment, and the detachment of militia which I have ordered out, they will form a pretty respectable force in that quarter. In the mean time, if I should receive any new intelligence that may render its augmentation necessary, it shall immediately be communicated to your Excellency. I propose, if nothing extraordinary happens to prevent it, to do myself the pleasure of waiting on your Excellency next week. I am, with the highest esteem and respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

GEORGE CLINTON.

FROM COLONEL JOHN LAURENS.

Point Judith, 40 miles from Providence,  
25 July, 1778.

SIR,

I had the honor of writing to your Excellency from Lebanon the 23d instant. The day following, at three

o'clock in the afternoon. I arrived at Providence. As soon as I had delivered to General Sullivan your Excellency's despatches and instructions, I set out for this place with Colonel Wall, and an ample number of pilots, whom General Sullivan had provided and put under his command. Colonel Wall is a man of character and property, perfectly acquainted with the coast, &c. Those under him are experienced pilots, and men of responsibility. We arrived here at nine o'clock this morning, having been detained till that time in procuring a party of militia, and making arrangements both for securing such boats as we shall want for our own immediate use, and such as, without this precaution, might be employed in communicating intelligence to the enemy.

We have agreed with four whaleboat privateers, belonging to Connecticut, manned with enterprising, experienced mariners, and pressed four belonging to this State. We have given them to understand that the frigate, lying at Connecticut River, is to push out of the Sound, and that we are to meet her with hands to enable her to go round and join the French fleet, for which purpose their boats are necessary. The number that we have is amply sufficient for our business, and now we are in readiness. Two sentinels will be posted, in an advantageous place, whose business will be to attend to whatever signals may be given from the seaboard; besides which, Colonel Wall, the master pilots, and myself, will alternately hold watch, and keep our attention awake. Till last night, twelve o'clock, unfavorable winds have prevailed. If the gale, which we have at present, does not prove inconstant, it will not be long before we are called upon. Our situation commands a view of the several entrances to Newport; and Block Island

is directly opposite to us, so that nothing can pass to or from Newport unnoticed.

General Sullivan estimates the enemy's land force here at seven thousand. The state of their shipping, he informs me, is as follows;—in the east channel (or that between Seconet Point and Rhode Island), two galleys and one small frigate; in the west channel (or that between Boston Neck and Conanicut Island), two small frigates; in the middle, or main channel, two frigates; at Newport, two or three frigates. As General Sullivan will probably write to your Excellency, I forbear descending to farther particulars. He has been indefatigable, and nothing on his part will be wanting. I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

JOHN LAURENS

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FROM COUNT D'ESTAING.

At Sea, 3 August, 1778.

SIR,

It is difficult to console one's self for the obstacles, as numerous as insurmountable, which stopped me at Sandy Hook. The importance of New York, the happiness of fighting the English fleet, and the extreme satisfaction of acting directly with you, made me desire, with the greatest ardor, the possibility of entering. I offered, to too little purpose, in an assembly of your experienced pilots, a recompense of fifty thousand crowns to him who should find us a sufficiency of water. It is only by action that my regret can be diminished, and as yet we do nothing. Your foresight and your orders have, nevertheless, anticipated my wants, and rendered my delays less long.



The reinforcement you have so properly sent, will, as I am informed, arrive this evening, and it will, most assuredly, be on the part you have so wisely and expeditiously taken, that our success will depend.

General Sullivan has done me the honor to come and see me, and to communicate his views. I will second them with all my power. He is full of that spirit of activity and combination, with which you inspire all those who have served under your orders. I believe him as fully persuaded as I am of the necessity of acting. The intrenchments that are visible above Commanicut increase daily. They are numerous. The time I have been at sea begins to make me lose a number of men with the scurvy. The extreme difficulty of procuring water at Shrewsbury, and the tardiness with which it is collected here from different places, have long since obliged me to retrench our allowance. The officers and men support this terrible privation with courage and patience; and we have acquired a virtue which has, hitherto, been refused us, the virtue of perseverance. We doubtless owe it to the flattering hope of being useful to allies, whom our national taste had itself given us, before the orders of the King had prescribed it.

The gentlemen, your Generals, will acquit themselves better than I of the duty of rendering you an account of the certain state of the preparations going on, and of the small burning of three English vessels, which guarded the eastern channel. I will confine myself by repeating to you, what I cannot well describe, the zeal and the infinite pains of Lieutenant-Colonel Laurens. He is on the wing the four-and-twenty hours round, to procure us refreshments; and, when this is done, remains on board during a very long day with all the patience of an old sailor. We

are indebted to him for a hospital established on shore, and for disembarassing us of our prisoners; which, in our situation, form two important articles.

I desire much that the present expedition may be speedily terminated, to give me leisure to employ myself with purging the Sound of the English vessels which now infest the navigation. I have received Colonel Sears with all the consideration and all the confidence which those merit whom you are pleased to send me, and, when it shall be time for it, I will consult him with the greatest eagerness. Accept the homage of the attachment and respect, with which I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,  
ESTAING.

P. S. Since writing my letter, I received that which you had the goodness to address me, on the 26th of July, by Major-General Greene. I am going to look for him on shore, that he may not lose any of the present precious moments. The reputation of this General Officer made his arrival to be wished. His influence on his countrymen, and his knowledge of the country, will render him formidable to our common enemy. You know how to divine whatever we stand in need of; and, from what I have seen, the discerning and employing men proper to the business in hand, seems to be one of the qualities which compose the illustrious character you bear. This is, perhaps, the most important part of the great General.

FROM THE M<sup>ARQUIS</sup> DE LAFAYETTE.

Providence, 6 August, 1778.

DEAR GENERAL.

I have received your Excellency's favor by General Greene, and have been much pleased with the arrival of a gentleman, who, not only on account of his merit and the justness of his views, but also by his knowledge of the country, and his popularity in this State, may be very serviceable to the expedition. I willingly part with the half of my detachment, though I had a great dependence upon them, as you find it convenient to the good of the service. Any thing, my dear General, you will order, or even wish, shall always be infinitely agreeable to me, and I will always feel happy in doing any thing which may please you, or forward the public good. I am of the same opinion as your Excellency, that dividing our Continental troops among the militia will have a better effect than if we were to keep them together in one wing.

You will receive, by General Sullivan, an account of his dispositions, preparations, &c. I therefore have nothing to add, but that I have been on board of the Admiral the day before yesterday. I saw among the fleet an ardor, and a desire of doing something, which would soon turn into impatience if we don't give them a speedy occasion of fighting. The officers cannot contain their soldiers and sailors, who are complaining that they have been these four months running after the British, without getting at them; but I hope they will be soon satisfied.

The Count d'Estaing was very glad of my arrival, as he could open freely his mind to me. He expressed the greatest anxiety on account of his wants

of every kind, provisions, water, &c. He hopes the taking of Rhode Island will enable him to get some of the two above-mentioned articles. The Admiral wants me to join the French troops to those I command, as soon as possible. I confess I feel very happy to think of my coöperating with them; and, had I contrived in my mind an agreeable dream, I could not have wished a more pleasing event than my joining my countrymen with my brothers of America, under my command, and the same standards. When I left Europe, I was very far from hoping such an agreeable turn of our business in the American glorious revolution.

Though I have no account, neither observations, to give to your Excellency, as I am here *a man-of-war of the third rate*, I will, after the expedition, scribble some lines to you, and join, to the account of General Sullivan, the assurance that I have all my limbs; and that I am, with the most tender affection, and entire confidence, yours, with high respect,

LAFAYETTE.

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FROM MAJOR-GENERAL SULLIVAN.

Head-Quarters, on Rhode Island, 13 August, 1778.

DEAR GENERAL,

In my last I had the honor to inform you of my being in possession of the enemy's works on the north part of Rhode Island, and of the arrival of the British fleet the moment we had landed; as also of the sailing of Count d'Estaing in quest of them. As this unfortunate circumstance deprived us of the assistance we promised ourselves from the French troops, I waited on the ground till the 10th, at night, when,

finding my numbers had increased sufficiently to warrant my advancing to the town, without waiting the return of the fleet, I issued orders for the army to march the 11th, at six in the morning. But fortune, still determined to sport longer with us, brought on a storm so violent that it last night blew down and almost ruined all the tents I had. The arms, of course, were rendered useless, and almost the whole of our ammunition ruined. The much greater part of the army have no kind of coverings, nor would tents, if they had them, prove a sufficient security against the severity of the storm. My men are mostly lying under the fences, half covered with water, without ammunition, and with arms rendered useless.

The communications between us and the main are cut off by the violence of the wind, which will scarcely permit a whaleboat to pass. Should the enemy come out to attack us, our dependence must be upon the superiority of our numbers and the point of the bayonet. How our militia may behave on such an occasion, I am unable to determine. To retreat is impossible; therefore we must conquer or perish. Perhaps, under such circumstances, an attack upon us might be of great advantage. Several men have perished from the severity of the weather, and I expect more will, as I see no probability of the storm ceasing. All our hopes of assistance from the French fleet are at an end, as this storm must have driven them far off from this post, and, I am very apprehensive, quite off the coast. To combat all these misfortunes, and to surmount all these difficulties, requires a degree of temper and persevering fortitude, which I can never boast of, and which few possess in so ample a manner as your Excellency. I will, however,

endeavour, by emulating the example, to rise superior to the malevolence of fortune and my present lamentable situation, as quick as possible; and, if Heaven will cease to frown, endeavour to gratify your Excellency's desires. I am sorry your Excellency's letter, respecting the enemy's burning their shipping, did not arrive till they had burnt and sunk the whole of their vessels of war, and sunk almost all the other vessels, to block up the channel.

The letter of your Excellency, inclosing that to the Count d'Estaing, did not arrive till after he had sailed. The intelligence from the Council of Massachusetts, informing that Admiral Byron, with thirteen large ships of the line, was spoken with off the Western Islands, also arrived the day after he sailed. This account says that Byron was spoken with on the 29th of June. The fleet which arrived here, and the Count was in pursuit of, was Lord Howe's fleet, among which were only five sail of the line. The rest, smaller vessels of war, and transports. They landed no men here.

I was apprehensive that some such event as this might happen to deprive me of the Count's assistance. This induced me to call for more men than I should otherwise have done. The numbers of the enemy are nearly thus:

Two Hessian regiments, 600 each, . . .	1,200
Two Anspach, 500 each, . . . . .	1,000
Brown and Fanning, . . . . .	600
22d, 38th, 43d, and 54th British, 400 each,	1,600
Two Hessian regiments, 500 each, . . .	1,000
Whilman's regiment, . . . . .	100
	<hr/> 5,500
To these we may add one thousand seamen,	1,000
	<hr/> 6,500

My numbers on the Island are about nine thousand, rank and file. Deserters come out in great numbers.

I have the honor to be, my dear General, &c.,

JOHN SULLIVAN.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL SULLIVAN.

Camp, before Newport, 23 August, 1778.

DEAR GENERAL,

The Fates have decreed that you shall receive nothing but disagreeable intelligence from this quarter. Major-General Greene and the Marquis returned, the night before last, from the French Admiral. My letter, their entreaties, and General Greene's written remonstrance, drawn up on board the *Languedoc*, have only produced the letter which I inclose. It seems that the Captains of the French fleet are so incensed at the Count d'Estaing's being put over them, he being but a land officer, that they are determined to prevent his doing any thing that may redound to his credit or our advantage. The Count himself wished to come in, but his Captains were, to a man, for leaving us. I then drew up a letter, in behalf of all the officers of the army, and sent on board; but he, though the wind was not fair for Boston, put off to sea night before last. This letter was followed by the inclosed protest, both of which I have ordered after him, in a fast-sailing privateer. I am, however, well persuaded that nothing will alter the determinations of the Captains, and that he will follow their counsel, though he knows they wish his ruin.

This sudden and unexampled procedure renders my situation exceeding delicate. The enemy have twice attempted to relieve the place by reinforcements; the



last fleet had four thousand troops on board. Should they make another attempt, they must succeed. They will then have near ten thousand troops on the Island, and the command of the water on every side of us, as we have been obliged to dismantle our forts at Bristol and Tiverton to forward our operations against the town.

I inclose to your Excellency a copy of the questions proposed by me to the General Officers and Commandants of brigades this day. I also inclose to your Excellency a copy of the protest sent after the Count d'Estaing. As my situation, at present, can promise nothing to advantage, except from a sudden attack, I wish the opinions of the officers may justify me in making this last effort. I have the honor to be, my dear General,

Yours, most affectionately,

JOHN SULLIVAN.

P. S. I offered the Count, in my letter, to make the attack the moment he would land the troops, and put them in the boats I had prepared for them. General Greene and the Marquis assured him that we would not require the stay of his fleet and troops more than forty-eight hours. But nothing could induce him to assist us with either, a single moment.

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FROM COLONEL LAURENS.

Camp, before Newport, 23 August, 1778.

SIR,

I am just returned from a fruitless pursuit of the French squadron. General Sullivan will inform your Excellency of the fatal determination of the Count's

officers in a Council of War, as well as of the several remonstrances, and final solemn protest, made by the American Generals. The Admiral's ship being dismantled fore and aft, at the moment he had overtaken the British fleet, and was promising himself an important victory, another ship of the line being in like manner dismantled, and a seventy-four gun ship being separated from the squadron, all the effects of a most dreadful storm which suddenly arose, were regarded as sufficient reasons, added to the expectation of Admiral Byron's arrival, for abandoning the American troops in the midst of a very important expedition, and reducing them to the necessity of making a desperate attack or a precipitate retreat.

The honor of the French nation, the honor of the Admiral, the safety of his fleet, and a regard for the new alliance, required a different conduct; but the Count's hands were tied. The cabal of marine officers, who wish his destruction because he was introduced from the land service into their corps, left him, it is said, no choice. I cannot, however, but be of opinion, that a solemn protest might, by affording a justification for his acting in direct contradiction to the unanimous voice of his officers, have induced him to remain here. He might have been furnished, at this place, with all the means of refitting which he can expect at Boston. He might have been as well secured against a superior force; and, in case he had chosen to fight, he would have been in better condition in still water, with dismantled vessels, where every one knows that, with springs upon his cables, he might fight his artillery as well as if he had masts and sails; whereas, at sea, in case of a separation from his fleet, the *Languedoc* may fall a prey to a vessel of half her force.

As I find that I am detaining the express, and I am sure General Sullivan will have written your Excellency more fully than my present hurry and confusion of ideas, for want of sleep, will permit me to do, I must entreat your Excellency's excuse for closing my letter abruptly. I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

JOHN LAURENS.

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FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Camp, before Newport, 25 August, 1778.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

I had expected, in answering your first letter, that something interesting would have happened that I might communicate to your Excellency. Every day was going to terminate our uncertainties; nay, every day was going to bring the hope of a success, which I did promise myself to acquaint you of. Such was the reason of my deferring what my duty and inclination did urge me to do much sooner. I am now indebted for two favors of yours, which I beg leave to offer here my thanks for. The first letter reached me in the time we expected to hear again from the French fleet; the second I have just received. My reason for not writing the same day the French fleet went to Boston was, that I did not choose to trouble your friendship with the sentiments of an afflicted, injured heart, and injured by that very people I came from so far to love and support. Don't be surprised, my dear General; the generosity of your honest mind would be offended at the shocking sight I have under my eyes.

So far am I from a critical disposition, that I will not give you the journal of our operations, neither of several instances during our staying here, which, however, might occupy some room in this letter. I will not even say to you, how contracted was the French fleet, when they wanted to come in at their arrival, which, according to the report of the animadverters, would have had the greatest effect; how surprised was the Admiral, when, after a formal and agreed convention, one hour after the American General had given a new written assurance, our troops made the landing a day before it was expected; how mortified the French officers were to find out that there was not a gun left in these very forts, to whose protection they were recommended. All these things, and many others, I would not take notice of, if they were not at this moment the supposed ground upon which it is said that the Count d'Estaing is gone on to Boston. Believe me, my dear Sir, upon my honor, the Admiral, though a little astonished by some instances of conduct on our part, did consider them in the same light as you and myself would have done; and, if he is gone off, it is because he thought himself obliged by necessity.

Let us consider, my dear General, the motions of that fleet, since it was proposed by the Count d'Estaing himself, and granted by the King in behalf of the United States. I will not go so far up as to remember other instances of the affection the French nation have for the Americans. The news of that fleet have occasioned the evacuation of Philadelphia. Its arrival has opened all the harbours, secured all the coasts, obliged the British navy to be together. Six of those frigates (two of them I have seen sufficient for terrifying all the trading people of the two Caro-

linas) are taken or burnt. The Count d'Estaing went to offer battle, and act as a check to the British navy, for a long time. At New York it was agreed he should go to Rhode Island, and there he went. They prevented him from going in at first; afterwards he was desired to come in, and so he did. The same day we landed, without his knowledge, an English fleet appears in sight. His being divided into three parts by our directions (for, though he is a Lieutenant-General, he never availed himself of that title), made him uneasy about his situation. But, finding the next morning that the wind was northerly, being also convinced that it was his duty to prevent any reënforcement at Newport, he goes out, under the hottest fire of the British land-batteries; he puts the British navy to flight, and pursues them, and they were all in his hands when that horrid storm arrived to ruin all our hopes. Both fleets are divided, scattered. The *Cæsar*, a seventy-four gun ship, is lost; the *Marseillais*, of the same size, loses her masts, and, after that accident, is obliged to send back [permit to escape?] an enemy's ship of sixty-four; the *Languedoc*, having lost her masts, unable to be governed and make any motions, separated from the others, is attacked by a ship of the line, against which she could only bring six guns.

When the storm was over, they met again in a shattered condition, and the *Cæsar* was not to be found. All the Captains represented to their General, that, after a so long navigation, in such a want of victuals, water, &c., which they had not yet been supplied with, after the intelligence given by General Sullivan, that there was a British fleet coming, they should go to Boston; but the Count d'Estaing had promised to come here again, and so he did, at all

events. The news of his arrival and situation came by the *Sowagol*, a frigate taken from the enemy. General Greene and myself went on board. The Count expressed to me, not so much to the envoy from General Sullivan, as to his friend, the unhappy circumstances he was in. Bound by express orders from the King to go to Boston in case of an accident or superior fleet, engaged by the common sentiment of all the officers, *even of some American pilots*, that he would ruin all his squadron in deferring his going to Boston, he called a new Council of War, and, finding every body of the same opinion, he did not think himself justifiable in staying here any longer, and took leave of me with true affliction, not being able to assist America for some days; which has been rewarded with the most horrid ungratefulness. But no matter. I am only speaking of facts. The Count said to me these last words: "After many months of sufferings, my men will rest some days; I will man my ships, and, if I am assisted in getting masts, &c., three weeks after my arrival I shall go out again, and then we shall fight for the glory of the French name, and the interests of America."

The day the Count went off, the General American Officers drew up a protestation, which, as *I had been very strangely called there*, I refused to sign; but I wrote a letter to the Admiral. The protestation and the letter did not arrive in time.

Now, my dear General, I am going to hurt your generous feelings by an imperfect picture of what I am forced to see. Forgive me for it; it is not to the Commander-in-chief, it is to my most dearest friend, General Washington, that I am speaking. I want to lament with him the ungenerous sentiments I have been forced to see in many American breasts.

Could you believe that, forgetting any national obligation, forgetting what they were owing to that same fleet, what they were yet to expect from them, and, instead of resenting their accidents as those of allies and brothers, the people turned mad at their departure, and, wishing them all the evils in the world, did treat them as a generous one would be ashamed to treat the most inveterate enemies? You cannot have any idea of the horrors which were to be heard on that occasion. Many leaders themselves, finding they were disappointed, abandoned their minds to illiberality and ungratefulness. Frenchmen of the highest character have been exposed to the most disagreeable circumstances; and yet, myself the friend of America, the friend of General Washington, I am more upon a warlike footing in the American lines than when I came near the British lines at Newport.

Such is, my dear General, the true state of matters. I am sure it will infinitely displease and hurt your feelings. I am also sure you will approve the part I have taken in it, which was, to stay much at home with all the French gentlemen who are here, and declare, at the same time, that any thing thrown before me against my nation, I would take as the most particular affront.

Inclosed I send you the general orders of the 24th, upon which I thought I was obliged to pay a visit to General Sullivan, who has agreed to alter them in the following manner. Remember, my dear General, that I don't speak to the Commander-in-chief, but to my friend; that I am far from complaining of anybody. I have no complaints at all to make to you against any one; but I lament, with you, that I have had an occasion of seeing so ungenerous sentiments in American hearts.



I will tell you the true reason. The leaders of the expedition are most of them, ashamed to return, after having spoken of their Rhode Island success in proud terms before their family, their friends, their internal enemies. The others, regardless of the expense France has been put to by that fleet, of the tedious, tiresome voyage which so many men have had for their service, though they are angry that the fleet takes three weeks of the whole campaign to refit themselves, cannot bear the idea of being brought to a small expense, to the loss of a little time, to the fatigue of staying some few days more in a camp at some few miles off their houses; for I am very far from looking upon the expedition as having miscarried, and I see even a certainty of success.

If, as soon as the fleet is repaired (which in case they are treated as one is in a country one is not at war with, would be done in three weeks from this time), the Count d'Estaing was to come around, the expedition seems to offer a very good prospect. If the enemy evacuates New York, we have the whole Continental army; if not, we might, perhaps, have some more men; what number, however, I cannot pretend to judge. All that I know is, that I shall be very happy to see the fleet coöperating with General Washington himself.

I think I shall be forced, by the Board of General Officers, to go soon to Boston. That I will do as soon as required, though with reluctance, for I do not believe that our position on this part of the Island is without danger; but my principle is, to do every thing which is thought good for the service. I have very often rode express to the fleet, to the frigates, and that, I assure you, with the greatest pleasure; on the other hand, I may, perhaps, be useful to the fleet.

Perhaps, too, it will be in the power of the Count to do something which might satisfy them. I wish, my dear General, you could know as well as myself, how desirous the Count d'Estaing is to forward the public good, to help your success, and to serve the cause of America.

I earnestly beg you will commend, to the several chief persons of Boston, to do every thing they can to put the French fleet in a situation for sailing soon. Give me leave to add, that I wish many people, by the declaration of your sentiments in that affair, could learn how to regulate theirs, and blush at the sight of your generosity.

You will find my letter immense. I began it one day and finished it the next, as my time was swallowed up by those eternal Councils of War. I shall have the pleasure of writing you from Boston. I am afraid the Count d'Estaing will have felt to the quick the behaviour of the people on this occasion. You cannot conceive how distressed he was to be prevented from serving this country for some time. I do assure you his circumstances were very critical and distressing. For my part, my sentiments are known to the world. My tender affection for General Washington is added to them; therefore, I want no apologies for writing upon what has afflicted me, both as an American and as a Frenchman.

I am much obliged to you for the care you are so kind as to take of that poor horse of mine; had he not found such a good stable as that at head-quarters, he would have cut a pitiful figure at the end of his travels, and I should have been too happy, if there had remained so much of the horse as the bones, the skin, and the four shoes.

Farewell, my dear General; whenever I quit you,

I meet with some disappointment and misfortune. I did not need it to desire seeing you as much as possible. With the most tender affection and high regard, I have the honor to be, &c.

LAFAYETTE.

Dear General; I must add to my letter, that I have received one from General Greene, very different from the expressions I have to complain of. He seems there very sensible of what I feel. I am very happy when placed in a situation to do justice to any one.

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FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Camp, near Newport, 28 August, 1778.

Sir,

Your Excellency's favor of the 21st came to hand the evening of the 25th.

In my last I communicated to your Excellency the departure of the Count d'Estaing with his fleet, for Boston. This disagreeable event has, as I apprehend, ruined all our operations. It struck such a panic among the militia and volunteers, that they began to desert by shoals. The fleet no sooner set sail, than they began to be alarmed for their safety. This misfortune damped the hopes of our army, and gave new spirits to that of the enemy.

We had a very respectable force, as to numbers; between eight and nine thousand, rank and file, upon the ground; but of these we attempted to select a particular corps to possess ourselves of the enemy's lines, partly by force, and partly by stratagem; but we could not make up the necessary number that was thought sufficient to warrant the attempt, which

was five thousand, including the Continental and State troops. This body was to consist of men, who had been in actual service before, not less than nine months. However, the men were not to be had, and, if they could have been found, there was more against it than for it. Colonel Laurens was to have opened the passage by landing within the enemy's lines, and getting possession of a redoubt at the head of Easton's beach. If we had failed in the attempt, the whole party must have fallen a sacrifice, for their situation would have been such that there was no possibility of getting off.

I shall inclose your Excellency a plan of the enemy's works, and of their strength, from the best accounts we are able to get. They have never been out of their lines since the siege began, till, night before last, Colonel Bruce came out with one hundred and fifty men, to take off a small picket of ours, posted at the neck of Easton's beach. He partly succeeded in the attempt, by the carelessness of the old guard. He came over after dark, and lay in ambush, that when the new guard went down to take their post, the enemy came upon their backs before they discovered them, it being very dark. We lost twenty-four privates and two subalterns. Ten of the picket got off.

Our strength is now reduced from nine thousand to between four and five thousand. All our heavy cannon on garrison carriages, and heavy and superfluous stores of every kind, are removed to the main, and to the north end of the Island, where we intend to intrench and attempt to hold it, and wait the chance of events. General Hancock is gone to Boston to forward the repairs of the fleet, and to prepare the mind of the Count for a speedy return.

How far he will succeed, I cannot pretend to say. I think it a matter of some doubt yet, whether the enemy will reinforce, or take off this garrison. If they expect a superior fleet from Europe, they will reinforce; but, if not, they will remove the garrison.

Your Excellency may rest assured, that I have done every thing in my power to cultivate and promote a good understanding, both with the Count and the Marquis, and flatter myself that I am upon very good terms with them both. The Marquis's great thirst for glory, and national attachment, often run him into errors. However, he did every thing to prevail on the Admiral to coöperate with us, that man could do. People censure the Admiral with great freedom, and many are imprudent enough to reproach the nation through the Admiral. General Sullivan very imprudently issued something like a censure in general orders. Indeed, it was an absolute censure. It opened the mouths of the army in very clamorous strains. The General was obliged to explain it away in a few days. The fermentation seems to be now subsiding, and all things appear as if they would go smoothly on. The Marquis is going to Boston, also, to hasten the Count's return, and, if possible, to get the French troops to join the land forces here, which will more effectually interest the Count in the success of the expedition.

Five sail of British ships have got into Newport within two days past. We have heard nor seen nothing of the fleet of transports your Excellency mentioned, in your letter to General Sullivan of the 23d. If they arrive with a large reinforcement, our expedition is at an end, unless it is by way of blockade, and that will depend upon the French fleet's being superior to that of the British.

General Sullivan has done every thing that could be expected, and had the fleet coöperated with us as was at first intended, and agreeably to the original plan of the expedition, we must have been successful. I wish it was in my power to confirm General Sullivan's prediction of the 17th, but I cannot flatter myself with such an agreeable issue. I am sensible he is in common very sanguine, but his expectations were not ill-founded in the present case. We had every reason to hope for success, from our numbers, and from the enemy's fears. Indeed, General Pigot was heard to say, the garrison must fall, unless they were speedily relieved by a British fleet. If we could have made a landing upon the south part of the town, two days would have put us in complete possession of it. Nothing was wanting to effect this, but the coöperation of the fleet and French forces. The disappointment is vexatious and truly mortifying. The garrison was so important, and the reduction so certain, that I cannot with patience think of the event. The French ship that was missing has got into Boston. The rest of the fleet have not got there yet, or at least we have no accounts of their arrival.

We are very anxious to learn the condition of Lord Howe's fleet. The French seventy-four that has got into Boston had an engagement with a British sixty-four. The Captain and Lieutenant of the former were both wounded; one lost a leg, the other an arm.

Our troops are in pretty good health, and well furnished with provisions, and every thing necessary for carrying on the expedition.

Our approaches were pushed on with great spirit, while we had any hopes of the fleet coöperating with us; but the people lost all relish for digging, after that.

People are very anxious to hear the issue of General Lee's trial. Various are the conjectures; but everybody agrees he is not acquitted.

*August 31st. Camp Tipton.* I wrote the foregoing, and intended to have sent it by the express that went off in the morning, but while I was writing, I was informed the express was gone; and the change of situation and round of events that have since taken place, have prevented my forwarding what I had wrote, as matters seemed to be coming to a crisis.

On the evening of the 29th, the army fell back to the north end of the Island. The next morning, the enemy advanced upon us in two columns upon the east and west road. Our light troops, commanded by Colonel Livingston and Colonel Laurens, attacked the heads of the columns about seven o'clock in the morning, but were beat back; they were reënforced with a regiment upon each road. The enemy still proved too strong. General Sullivan formed the army in order of battle, and resolved to wait their approach upon the ground we were encamped on, and sent orders to the light troops to fall back. The enemy came up and formed upon Quaker Hill, a very strong piece of ground, within about one mile and a quarter of our line. We were well posted, with strong works in our rear, and a strong redoubt in front, partly upon the right of the line.

In this position a warm cannonade commenced, and lasted for several hours, with continual skirmishes in front of both lines. About two o'clock the enemy began to advance in force upon our right, as if they intended to dislodge us from the advanced redoubt. I had the command of the right wing. After advanc-



ing four regiments, and finding the enemy still gaining ground, I advanced with two more regiments of regular troops, and a brigade of militia, and at the same time General Sullivan ordered Colonel Livingston, with the light troops under his command, to advance. We soon put the enemy to the rout, and I had the pleasure to see them run in worse disorder than they did at the battle of Monmouth. Our troops behaved with great spirit; and the brigade of militia, under the command of General Lovell, advanced with great resolution and in good order, and stood the fire of the enemy with great firmness. Lieutenant-Colonel Livingston, Colonel Jackson, and Colonel Henry B. Livingston, did themselves great honor in the transactions of the day; but it's not in my power to do justice to Colonel Laurens, who acted both the General and the partisan. His command of regular troops was small, but he did every thing possible to be done by their numbers. He had two most excellent officers with him, Lieutenant-Colonel Henry and Major Talbot.

The enemy fell back to their strong ground, and the day terminated with a cannonade and skirmishes. Both armies continued in their position all day yesterday, cannonading each other every now and then. Last night we effected a very good retreat, without the loss of men or stores.

We have not collected an account of the killed and wounded, but we judge our loss amounts to between two and three hundred, and that of the enemy, to much more.

We are going to be posted all round the shores as a guard upon them, and in that state to wait for the return of the fleet, which, by the by, I think will not be in a hurry.

It is reported that Lord Howe arrived last night with his fleet and the reinforcement mentioned in your Excellency's letter to General Sullivan. If the reports be true, we got off the island in very good season.

The Marquis went to Boston the day before the action, and did not return until last night, just as we were leaving the Island. He went to wait upon the Admiral, to learn his further intentions, and to get him to return again and complete the expedition, if possible.

I observe your Excellency thinks the enemy design to evacuate New York. If they should, I think they will Newport also; but I am persuaded they will do neither for the present.

I would write your Excellency a more particular account of the battle and retreat, but I imagine General Sullivan and Colonel Laurens have done it already, and I am myself very much unwell. I have had no sleep for three nights and days, being severely afflicted with the asthma. I am, with great respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

NATHANAEL GREENE.

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FROM THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

(Private.)

Philadelphia, 29 August, 1778.

DEAR SIR,

I did myself the honor of writing to your Excellency yesterday, by Jones, to which I beg leave to refer.

This morning, upon inquiry, I was confirmed in my belief that the former Camp Committee had made no

application to Congress for gold or silver, to be deposited in your Excellency's hands for public uses; wherefore, I suggested to two or three members the necessity and utility of establishing such a fund, and prevailed upon one of the gentlemen to move the House for that purpose. The motion was accepted, and, without a pause, the sum of five hundred guineas voted. These I shall presently receive, and, if possible, convey them to your Excellency under the protection of Captain Josiah Stoddard, of the light dragoons.

I have just received new addresses to Congress from the British Commissioners at New York. Governor Johnstone, in graceless and almost scurrilous terms, without exonerating himself from the charges alleged against him, submits to the decree of interdiction, lately pronounced by Congress.\* Nor do the gentlemen, late his coadjutors, so highly resent the proceedings on our part, as to refuse to treat without the support of the Governor's name.

Your Excellency will judge best from their respective performances on the present occasion; copies of which shall accompany this letter.

I take the liberty of inclosing, with the present despatches, a letter directed "To Lieutenant-Colonel Laurens," under a flying seal, and to request your Excellency to peruse a paragraph contained in it, which speaks of a Monsieur Galvan.

Monsieur Gerard is exceedingly affected by the late determinations on the water, near Rhode Island, and has communicated his sentiments to me with great candor. Good accounts from General Sullivan will do

\* See Governor Johnstone's manifesto in Almon's *Remembrancer*, Vol. VII. p. 15.

may now be recovering him from a slight intermission, which really seized that gentleman, immediately after he had received Monsieur Chonin's letter, than had names of burk. Indeed, I never saw people in general more anxious than my acquaintance, under the present suspense. Within the next two hours, I make no doubt, there will be fifty inquirers for news within this door. I remain, with the utmost regard, dear Sir,

Your Excellency's obliged and humble servant,

HENRY LAURENS.\*

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FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Tiverton, 1 September, 1778.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

That there has been an action fought where I

\* The following extract from a letter written by Mr. Andrew Adams, a Delegate to Congress, to Mr. Samuel Lynde, dated August 17th, presents an interesting sketch of the mode of doing business in Congress, at this period.

"I do not know that I can better gratify your curiosity at present, than by giving a general account of the proceedings of Congress. According to order we should meet at nine, and adjourn at two; but, in fact, we meet about ten, and sit till three, four, and five, before we adjourn. This you will say is very inconvenient, but it leaves us much leisure. But you will consider, that much of the business is transacted by special Committees in the recess of Congress. Besides these, there is a Marine Board, a Navy Board, a Treasury Board, a Commercial Board, and a Committee of Foreign Affairs, who have no other time to do their business but in the recess of Congress. These Boards are at present almost wholly composed of members of Congress. Some of them meet at six in the morning, and sit till eight constantly every day; others meet at five in the afternoon, or immediately after they dine, and sit till night, and sometimes till late. I believe there are but very few members but what are employed in some of these ways, so that those who do their duty have not much leisure to spare.

"The debates in the House are similar to those in the British House of Commons. There are here, as in most other assemblies, some very

could have been, and where I was not, is a thing which will seem as extraordinary to you as it seems so to myself. After a long journey, and a longer stay from home (I mean from head-quarters), the only satisfactory day I have, finds me in the middle of a town. There I had been sent, pushed, hurried, by the Board of General Officers, and principally by Generals Sullivan and Greene, who thought I should be of great use to the common cause, and to whom I foretold the disagreeable event which would happen to me. I felt, on that occasion, the impression of that bad star, which, some days ago, has influenced the French undertakings, and which, I hope, will soon be removed. People say that I don't want an action; but, if it is not necessary to my reputation as a tolerable private soldier, it would, at least, add to my satisfaction and pleasure. However, I was

sensible speakers, and some very loud talkers. You may make one exception, and then conceive a House composed of very able, sensible gentlemen, — but belonging to different States, whose laws, manners, genius of the inhabitants, and indeed almost every thing else, are very different."

Mr. Hosmer, another Delegate from Connecticut, wrote as follows to Governor Trumbull, on the 31st of August.

"I wish I could with truth assure your Excellency that, in my view, our affairs are in a happy train, and that Congress has adopted wise and effectual measures to restore our wounded public credit, and to establish the United States, their liberty, union, and happiness, upon a solid and permanent foundation. I dare not do it, while my heart is overwhelmed with the most melancholy presages. The idleness and captiousness of some gentlemen, maugre the wishes and endeavours of an honest and industrious majority, in my apprehension, threaten the worst consequences. The Southern States are fixed against holding Congress more than once a day. Our hours are fixed from nine in the forenoon to two in the afternoon. If these were punctually attended, it would be, perhaps, as much as could be spared from Committees, and other business which must be done out of Congress hours. Nine States make a Congress. Some States have Delegates so very negligent, so much immersed in the pursuit of pleasure or business, that it is very rare we can make a Congress before near eleven o'clock; and this evil seems

happy enough to arrive before the second retreat; it was not attended with such trouble and danger as it would have been had not the enemy been so sleepy. I was thus once more deprived of my fighting expectations.

From what I have heard from sensible and candid French gentlemen, the action does great honor to General Sullivan; he retreated in good order; he opposed very properly every effort of the enemy; he never sent troops but well supported; and displayed great coolness during the whole day. The evacuation I have seen extremely well performed; and my private opinion is, that, if both events are satisfactory to us, they are very shameful to the British Generals and troops—they had, indeed, so many fine chances to cut us to pieces; but they are very good people.

Now, my dear General, I must give you an account of that journey for which I have paid so dear. The Count d'Estaing arrived the day before in Boston. I found him much displeased at a protest, of

incapable of a remedy, as Congress has no means to compel gentlemen's attendance, and those who occasionally delay are callous to admonition and reproof, which have been often tried in vain.

"When we are assembled, several gentlemen have such a knack of starting questions of order, raising debates upon critical, captious, and trifling amendments, protracting them by long speeches, by postponing, calling for the previous question, and other arts, that it is almost impossible to get an important question decided at one sitting, and if it is put over to another day, the field is open to be gone over again, precious time is lost, and the public business left undone. I am sorry to add, that the opposition between States, the old prejudices of north against south, and south against north, seem to be reviving, and are industriously heightened by some who, I fear, would be but too well pleased to see our Union blasted, and our independence broken and destroyed.

"I wish what I have written may not seem too much like complaining of Congress; but, besides that I am sure it is a just picture of our present situation, when I look back and see how little has been done

which you have heard, and many other circumstances which I have reported to you. I did what I could on the occasion; but I must do the Admiral the justice to say, that it has not at all diminished his warm desire of serving America. We waited together on the Council, General Heath and General Hancock, and were very well satisfied with them. The last one distinguished himself very much by his zeal on the occasion. Some people in Boston were rather dissatisfied; but when they saw the behaviour of the Council, Generals Heath and Hancock, they, I hope, will do the same; I therefore fear nothing but delays. The masts are very far off; provisions difficult to be provided. The Count d'Estaing was ready to come with his land forces, and put himself under General Sullivan's orders, though dissatisfied with the latter; but our new circumstances will alter that design.

I beg you will pardon me once more, my dear General, for having troubled and afflicted you with the account of what I had seen after the departure of the French fleet. My confidence in you is such, that I could not feel so warmly upon this point without communicating it to your Excellency. I have now the pleasure to inform you that the dis-

since I came here, and consider how much there was to do, and the vast importance that it should be done without loss of time, I feel myself under an obligation to account for my own conduct, among others, and can think of no better way to do it, than by telling the truth; which I do the more freely, because I can appeal to every gentleman in Congress, whether any blame rests upon Connecticut, whether she has ever been an hour unrepresented, or whether any time hath been lost by the remissness, or captiousness, or long-windedness of her Delegates. Besides, though while hopes of a speedy reform prevailed, I thought it prudent to be silent, now those hopes have vanished, I thought it best, and my duty, to state our real, though unhappy situation to your Excellency, that we might have the benefit of your wisdom and advice in concerting proper measures to retrieve us from the unhappy lethargy (shall I call it frenzy?) into which we have fallen."



content does not appear so great. The French hospital is arrived at Boston, though under difficulties, which, however, I think I have diminished a good deal by sending part of my family, with orders to some persons, and entreaties to others, to give them all the assistance in their power. Now, every thing will be right, provided the Count d'Estaing is enabled to sail soon. Every exertion, I think, ought to be employed for that purpose in all the several parts of the Continent; masts, biscuit, water, and provisions are his wants. I long to see that we have again the command, or at least an equal force, upon the American seas.

By your letters to General Sullivan, I apprehend that there is some general move in the British army, and that your Excellency is going to send us reënforcements. God grant you may send us as many as, with the militia, will make a larger army, that you might command them yourself! I long, my dear General, to be again with you, and to have the pleasure of coöperating with the French fleet under your immediate orders. This will be the greatest I can feel; I am sure every thing will then be right. The Count d'Estaing (if Rhode Island is again to be taken, which I ardently wish) would be extremely happy to take it in conjunction with General Washington, and it would remove the other inconveniences.

I am now intrusted, by General Sullivan, with the care of Warren, Bristol, and the Eastern Shore. I am to defend a country with very few troops, who are not able to defend more than a single point. I cannot answer that the enemy won't go and do what they please, for I am not able to prevent them, only with a part of their army, and yet this part must

not land far from me. But I answer, that, if they come with equal or not very superior forces to those I may collect, we shall flog them pretty well; at least I hope so. My situation seems to be uncertain, for we expect to hear soon from your Excellency. You know Mr. Tousard, a gentleman of my family. He met with a terrible accident in the last action; running before all the others, to take a piece of cannon in the midst of the enemy, with the greatest excess of bravery, he was immediately covered with their shots, had his horse killed, and his right arm shattered to pieces. He was happy enough not to fall into their hands; his life is not despaired of. Congress was going to send him a commission of Major.

Give me joy, my dear General. I intend to have your picture, and Mr. Hancock has promised me a copy of that he has in Boston. He gave one to Count d'Estaing, and I never saw a man so glad at possessing his sweetheart's picture, as the Admiral was to receive yours.

In expecting, with the greatest impatience, to hear from your Excellency as to what are to be the general plans, and your private movements, I have the honor to be, with the highest respect, the warmest and most endless affection, dear General, &c.,

LAFAYETTE.

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FROM COLONEL LAURENS.

(Private.)

Providence, 2 September, 1778.

SIR,

I had the honor of writing to your Excellency previous to the action of the 29th. My letter was com-

mitted to the care of Major Gibbs, and he destroyed it as soon as the engagement commenced, to guard against accidents. As your Excellency has already received minute accounts of the transactions of that day from those who saw them in a more collective view than the nature of my command afforded me, any further relation is rendered unnecessary. I shall confine myself, therefore, to congratulating your Excellency on the happy termination of an expedition, which at one period was threatened with the most tragical catastrophe. The advantages gained in the affair of Portsmouth, and the brilliant retreat which succeeded it, by doing honor to the American arms, consoled us in some degree for the loss of our grand object.

The movements which your Excellency has observed at New York, the arrival of seventy sail of vessels in the road of Newport, the appearance of twenty sail off Boston, are circumstances which keep us in suspense with respect to the enemy's intentions. General Greene has requested that I would remain in this quarter till they can be interpreted. In the mean time, he agrees with me, that if the enemy mean to act offensively here, a few days' preparation will be required. I have thought it incumbent on me, as part of the commission with which your Excellency honored me, to wait on Count d'Estaing, and ask if he has any despatches for head-quarters. It will be my greatest happiness if I can be useful in explaining the causes of mutual jealousy and uneasiness which have existed between the officers of the allied powers here, and be any ways instrumental in restoring that harmony which the common interest requires.

I foretold, to the Marquis, the influence which the

Count's departure from the road of Newport would probably have upon the minds of the people, and the danger of its reviving those absurd prejudices which we inherited from the British nation. Unhappily the mischief has become more extensive by the unguarded expressions of some men of rank, who listened to their chagrin rather than good policy. Reflection, however, begins to induce a more cautious behaviour, and I am in hopes that the confidence of the people in our new allies will be restored.

The Count's sensibility was much wounded by the manner in which the protest was delivered to him. In a letter to General Sullivan he declares, that this paper imposed on the Commander of the King's squadron the painful but necessary law of profound silence; that he had taken occasion, however, relatively to some other business, to acquaint him, that, if the Council of Boston accepted his offer (which was to repair to Rhode Island at the head of his land troops, and receive General Sullivan's orders), he would promise the most implicit obedience on the part of his troops, and set them the example of it; that the extreme sensibility, which composed the French national character, in every thing that relates to their honor, required that the French Commander-in-chief should, by his sentiments for the American General, and by a conspicuous measure, announce that French delicacy could not be wounded in a moment of passion, which arose from disappointment, felt alike by both parties. In a postscript he requested that the Marquis de la Fayette may explain matters between them. The expressions of the Count's letter are rather obscure; but, by discovering an inclination to make great personal sacrifices, it is, in my opinion, a foundation for restoring harmony and a good un-

derstanding. General Sullivan's answer, I hope, will improve it. I have the honor to be, with the greatest attachment and respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant.

JOHN LAURENS.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL SULLIVAN.

Providence, 3 September, 1778.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

I had last night the honor of receiving your Excellency's favor of the 1st instant, and impatiently wait your Excellency's sentiments on the steps I have taken since the 29th ultimo, an account of which has been transmitted by Major Morris.

The justice of the observations, in your Excellency's letter, respecting the departure of the French fleet, are so obvious, that, if a consciousness of my duty to yield implicit obedience to your Excellency's commands did not ever make that obedience a pleasure, the reasoning alone must have pointed out the part I have to act. I have the pleasure to inform your Excellency, that, though the first struggles of passion on so important a disappointment were scarcely to be restrained, yet, in a few days, by taking advantage of the subsiding passion, I found means to restore the former harmony between the American and French officers of the army. The Count d'Estaing and myself are in the same friendship as heretofore. The reason of the protest has been explained to him, and he is now perfectly satisfied. He has offered to come on with his land forces, and do every thing which I may request of him and his troops; but this step has become unnecessary.

The reason of drawing the protest was this;—The Count himself wished to remain with us, but was, by his Captains, overruled in Council. As deviating from the voice of his Council would be attended with ill consequences to him in case of misfortune, it was supposed that the protest might justify his deviating from the voice of his Council, and acting a part agreeable to his own sentiments, and those of the co-operating army. Prudence dictated it as our duty to keep it secret from all but him, your Excellency, and the Congress; and no publication of it was ever thought of on our part; and your Excellency may rely on my exertions to prevent it. Every thing in my power shall be done for repairing the injury sustained by the French fleet.

The fleet off Boston harbour, of which I gave your Excellency an account yesterday, are eight ships of the line, ten frigates, one sloop, and a schooner. There can be no doubt of its being Lord Howe's fleet, watching the motions of the French fleet, to facilitate the relief of Rhode Island, and perhaps to cover the retreat of the British army from Rhode Island and New York, to other places where they are more needed. Those ships were out of sight yesterday morning at eight o'clock, but I hear they afterwards hove in sight again. The report here is, that six thousand troops have arrived at Newport. I know they are numerous, but cannot as yet ascertain the number. Your Excellency will please transmit a copy of this letter to Congress; and believe me to be, with every sentiment of gratitude, respect, and esteem, your Excellency's

Most obedient and very humble servant,

JOHN SULLIVAN.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Boston, 13 September, 1778.

Sir,

The growing extravagance of the people, and the increasing demand for the article of forage in this quarter, have become a very alarming affair. Hay is from sixty to eighty dollars a ton, and upon the first crop is ten dollars a bushel, and oats four; and every thing else, that will answer for forage, in that proportion. Carting is nine shillings a mile by the ton, and people much dissatisfied with the price. I have represented to the States of Rhode Island and Connecticut the absolute necessity of legislative interposition, to settle the prices of things upon some reasonable footing, of all such articles and services as are necessary for the use of the public in my department. I am going to do the same to the Council of this State. What effect it will have, I cannot say; but, if there is not something done to check the extravagance of the people, there are no funds in the universe that will equal the expense.

The late affray that happened in this place, between the people of the town and those of the fleet, has been found to originate from a parcel of soldiers belonging to the Convention troops, and a party of British sailors which were engaged on board a privateer. The secret enemies to our cause, and the British officers in the neighbourhood of this place, are endeavouring to sow the seeds of discord as much as

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\* Continental currency. At this time, the Continental money passed in Massachusetts at the rate of somewhat more than six paper dollars for one silver dollar, and prices of course rose in the same proportion. See Felt's *Historical Account of the Massachusetts Currency*, p. 186.



possible between the inhabitants of the place and the French belonging to the fleet. The French officers are well satisfied this is the state of the case, and it fills them with double resentment against the British. The Admiral and all the French officers are now upon an exceeding good footing with the gentlemen of the town. General Hancock takes unwearied pains to promote a good understanding with the French officers. His house is full from morning till night.

I had a letter from the Marquis, day before yesterday. He writes me he is endeavouring to represent every thing in the most favorable colors to the Court of France, in order to wipe away the prejudices that the letters of some of the more indiscreet may make upon that Court. All the French officers are extravagantly fond of your Excellency; but the Admiral more so than any of the rest. They all speak of you with the highest reverence and respect. General Hancock made the Admiral a present of your picture. He was going to receive it on board the fleet by the firing a royal salute. But General Hancock thought it might furnish a handle for some of the speculative politicians to remark the danger of characters becoming too important. He therefore dissuaded the Admiral from carrying the matter into execution.

I find, by your Excellency's letter to General Sullivan, that you expect the enemy are going to evacuate New York, and that it is probable they are coming eastward. I can hardly think they mean to make an attempt upon Boston, notwithstanding the object is important; and, unless they attack Boston, there is no other object worthy their attention in New England. I am rather inclined to think they mean to leave the United States altogether. What

they hold here now, they hold at a great risk and expense. But, suppose they actually intend to quit the Continent, they will endeavour to mislead our attention, and that of our allies, until they can get clear of the coast. The Admiral is fortifying for the security of his fleet; but I am told his batteries are all open in the rear, which will be but a poor security against a land force. General Heath thinks there ought to be some Continental troops sent here; but the Council will not turn out the militia; they are so confident the enemy are not coming here. If your Excellency thinks the enemy really design an attack upon Boston, it may not be useless for you to write your opinion to the Council Board, for I suspect they think the General here has taken the alarm without sufficient reasons. The fortifications round this place are very incomplete, and little or nothing doing upon them. I have given General Heath my opinion what parts to take possession of, if the enemy should attempt the place before the Continental army gets up. From four to five hundred troops have arrived at Halifax; their collective strength will make a formidable army.

I wish to know your Excellency's pleasure about my returning to camp. I expect Mrs. Greene will be put to bed every day. She is very desirous of my stay until that event; and, as she has set her heart so much upon it, I could wish to gratify her, for fear of some disagreeable consequences, as women sometimes, under such circumstances, receive great injury by being disappointed.

General Sullivan granted me leave to come here upon the business of my department. I expect to return in a few days. Major Gibbs is with me, and is going to Portsmouth.

This is the third letter I have wrote since I have had a line from your Excellency. Should be glad to hear from you when at leisure.

I am your Excellency's obedient servant,

NATHANAEL GREENE.

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FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Camp, near Warren. 24 September, 1778.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

I am going to consult your Excellency upon a point, in which I not only want your leave and opinion, as the Commander-in-chief, but also your candid advice, as the man whom I have the happiness to call my friend. In an address from the British Commissioners to Congress, the first after Johnstone was excluded, they speak in the most disrespectful terms of my nation and country.\* The whole is undersigned by them, and more particularly by the President, Lord Carlisle. I am the first French officer in rank of the American Army; I am not unknown to the British; and if somebody must take notice of such expressions, that advantage does, I believe, belong to me. Don't you think, my dear General, that I should do well to write a letter on the subject to

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\* The British Commissioners had said, alluding to France, "They remain astonished at the calamities in which the unhappy people of these Colonies continue to be involved, from the blind deference which their leaders profess towards a power that has ever shown itself an enemy to all civil and religious liberty, and whose offers, his Majesty's Commissioners must repeat, whatever may be the pretended date and present form of them, were made only in consequence of the plan of accommodation concerted in Great Britain, and with a view to prevent the reconciliation proposed, and to prolong this destructive war."

Lord Carlisle, wherein I should notice his expressions conveyed in an unfriendly manner? I have mentioned something of this design to the Count d'Estaing, but wish entirely to fix my opinion by yours, which I instantly beg, as soon as you may find it convenient.

As every thing is perfectly quiet, and General Sullivan is persuaded that I may, with all safety, go to Boston, I am going to undertake a short journey towards that place. The Admiral has several times expressed a desire of conversing with me; he has also thrown out some wishes that something might be done towards securing Boston; but it seems he always refers to a conversation for further explanation. My stay will be short, as I don't like towns, in time of war, when I may be about a camp. If your Excellency answers me immediately, I may soon receive your letter.

I want much to see you, my dear General, and consult you about many points; part of them are respecting myself. If you approve of my writing to Lord Carlisle, it would be a reason for coming near you for a short time, in case the gentleman is displeased with my mission.

With the most perfect respect, confidence, and affection, I have the honor to be, &c.,

LAFAYETTE.\*

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\* The proposed challenge was entirely disapproved by Washington, in his answer to the above letter. (Washington's Writings, Vol. VI. p. 78.) But the challenge was sent, and it was properly declined by the Earl of Carlisle, on the ground that he was "solely responsible to his country and king, and not to any individual, for his public conduct and language."

FROM COLONEL OTHO H. WILLIAMS.

Paramus, Monday, 26 September, 1778.

SIR,

I am exceedingly sorry to be the author of bad news; but lest a more imperfect account should reach head-quarters, I think it my duty to acquaint your Excellency of the misfortune sustained by Colonel Baylor's corps. Early on Sunday, the Colonel removed with his regiment from Paramus to Harrington, a small place two or three miles from Tappan, and took quarters. Between three and four this morning, the enemy, conducted by a number of the inhabitants, surrounded his pickets and effectually surprised the whole regiment. At eleven o'clock (the hour of writing this) Captain Stith, a sergeant, and twelve or thirteen men, who escaped, have arrived at this place. Captain Stith says, being surprised at his quarters, he ran out of the house, and seeing, or rather hearing a body of horse, which he took for his own troop, he ordered them to form, adding, the British troops are near us. He was instantly attacked, and finding himself surrounded, asked for quarter, which they refused; he then fired his pistol and escaped.

About sunrise we heard a very brisk fire, for a few minutes, at Tappan, supposed to be a feeble resistance of the militia at that place. Some of the wounded, just arrived, say that the enemy did not stay to take away the horses which were in the stables; that they saw about twenty of Colonel Baylor's horsemen killed, and about twelve or fourteen mortally wounded with bayonets. A party is just gone to bring off the wounded and horses, if possible; and other parties are sent to discover the route and num-

bers of the enemy. Captain Smith says they were in great force, but as it was dark, he could not form any opinion of their numbers. He thinks Colonel Baylor and Major Clough are certainly taken, as he saw the British troops at their quarters, which were near his own. It is possible, he says, that some of the officers on their right may have escaped towards Kakiat, to which place the enemy were directing their march by the last accounts.

I came to the Jerseys with a view of relieving a friend from captivity, and have had the happiness to meet him, with a number of others, about forty, who were exchanged this day week. Several are now waiting, at Morristown, a favorable opportunity to pay their duty at head-quarters. Coming here on my way to camp, at this critical time, Major Pell, who commands at this place, has done me the honor to advise with me what measures are most eligible for him to adopt. The sick, and the few stores he had, are sent towards Pompton. He will continue to be near the enemy, but, as his party is weak, will be under the necessity of changing his post often, to elude the treachery of the inhabitants. General Winds has taken post, with about one thousand militia, on an eminence near Hackinsac. I cannot learn that General Maxwell has moved from Elizabethtown. Many reports are, that the enemy have landed there, and at Newark; but the last and best accounts contradict them.

I intend to join my regiment to-morrow, as I cannot be of any further service to Major Pell, who is active and vigilant. Your Excellency's

Most obedient, humble servant,

OTHO H. WILLIAMS.\*

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\* Dr. David Griffith wrote from Orangetown, on the 30th of September, as follows.

"I am this moment returned from the enemy's pickets, where I went

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Boston, 28 September, 1778.

DEAR GENERAL,

The news I have got from France, the reflections I have made by myself, and those which have been suggested to me by many people, particularly by the Admiral, increase more than ever the desire I had of seeing again your Excellency. I want to communicate to you my sentiments, and take your opinion upon my present circumstances. I look upon this as of high moment to my private interests. On the

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to ask permission to remain with the wounded at this place. I found the picket (a subaltern and twenty) about two miles below this, but understood that they have parties on all the roads leading to Hackinsac, that have no fixed station, but patrol constantly. The first battalion of light infantry is close in the rear of their pickets.

"The wounded left here are, Colonel Baylor, the Surgeon, and one private of his regiment, a militia-man, and an old man seventy-three years of age, a resident; whom, besides shooting him through the thigh, they severely beat. Major Clough died yesterday morning, and this day was buried. Colonel Baylor has a wound in his thigh with a bayonet, another in his groin, and several cuts in his hand with a broadsword. I do not think that any of his wounds are very dangerous; his intestines are free from injury. He is in good spirits, and free from all bad symptoms. His patrols were taken, which occasioned his being surprised. Dr. Crosby was here an hour ago, and tells me that, besides the men that you have seen escaped, sixteen have come into Paramus, most of them wounded; two are since dead.

"I understand, from Sir James Manning, who commands the infantry, that they are soon to quit Jersey, and that Sir Henry Clinton and Lord Cornwallis are both returned to New York. The officer that commanded the picket told me, that Sir James Wallace came express from New York to the General, and that a picket was arrived. He did not mention any news; and I think he would not have concealed it, if he had any to tell that was favorable to them.

"I did not obtain the permission I desired. Sir James desired I would come to their pickets to-morrow, and he would have it ready with such necessaries as Colonel Baylor was in need of."



other hand, I have some ideas, and some intelligence in reference to public interests, which I am very desirous of disclosing to your Excellency. I am sure, my dear General, that your sentiments upon my private concerns are such, that you will have no objection to my spending some hours with you.

The moment at which the fleet will be ready is not very far, and I think it of importance to have settled my affair with you before that time. I am going to write to General Sullivan on the subject, and, if he has no objection, I'll go immediately to head-quarters; but should he make difficulties, I beg you will send me that leave. I intend to ride express, in order that I may have time enough. You may think, my dear General, that I don't ask, what I never asked in my life—a leave to quit the post I am sent to—without strong reasons for it; but the letters I have received from home make me very anxious to see you.

With the most tender affection and highest respect, &c.,

LAFAYETTE.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GATES.

Danbury, 30 September, 1778.

SIR,

I am this moment honored with the receipt of your Excellency's letter of to-day's date.

I am sorry for the disgrace we have suffered in the Jerseys; but imagine that the enemy take advantage of the supineness that constantly seizes our people, when they have been long unmolested. This is an evil, that even the best officers cannot remedy.

General McDougall's division will be put upon

the march immediately, as your Excellency has commanded.

Your Excellency will excuse me when I say, I like not the divided state of your army. The enemy are upon the *qui-vive*; they have the advantages of a river, to navigate upon each of our flanks. To divide is to conquer, in politics. I hope it may not, with regard to us, prove so in the war.

I hope Lord Stirling and General Maxwell will answer all your Excellency's expectations in the Jerseys; they certainly are best acquainted with that country.

Inclosed is a letter I have this moment received from Major Tallmadge. Your Excellency will please to order Colonel Pettit to supply the necessary articles. I am, Sir, your Excellency's

Most obedient, humble servant,

HORATIO GATES.

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FROM RICHARD HENRY LEE.

Philadelphia, 5 October, 1778.

DEAR SIR,

I hope the measures you have taken will be effectual to the purpose of reënlisting the army, because it is an object of great importance; and I readily admit the propriety of first trying those methods which promise fewest ill consequences. Danger will only arise from pressing such too far, and urging the experiment too long. I very much fear, Sir, that the knowledge of depreciation has reached the most uninformed, and, therefore, that every evil which can. will happen to us from this cause. But I am not without hope that such measures will be adopted as

may, before it is too late, restore our currency to its proper value.

It is, indeed, no easy matter to judge of the designs of the enemy. They have created to themselves a great choice of difficulties. I believe they would willingly change their war of conquest to one of revenge altogether; but revenge must be postponed to safety. General Clinton's army is the only hope of Canada, Nova Scotia, the Floridas, the West Indies, and, I may safely add, much so of Great Britain and Ireland. Whilst this is the case, although Boston, in its present situation, is a very tempting object, I cannot think they will undertake it. However, what can be attempted, may be attempted, and wisdom points to precaution. If it be true, and our information comes pretty direct, that Dominica has fallen, that Jamaica and St. Kitts are in jeopardy, and that Keppel has fled from the fleet of France, we may suppose that our enemies can make no long stay with us. Distance and land-carriage distress us greatly in the article of bread provision; to which is added an artificial scarcity, created in the midst of plenty, by an infamous set of engrossers, who have raised the price of flour from four dollars a hundred to five and six pounds. I hope the measures we are taking with these gentry will make them suffer in a way most hurtful to them.

Mr. Eustis had quitted this city before your letter came to hand, and as he is gone to the army, I have inclosed the letter in this. I am, with much esteem and regard, dear Sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,

RICHARD HENRY LEE.

FROM COLONEL LAMBERT CADWALADER.\*

Philadelphia, 7 October, 1778.

DEAR SIR,

A few days since, I received your Excellency's letter in Maryland, dated White Plains, inclosing one from the Commissioners of Arrangement, respecting my not performing the duties incident to my station, and desiring I may be ordered to my regiment, without being previously exchanged; and that, in case of refusal, there would be a vacancy, to which an active officer might be entitled to succeed.

The motives, which seem chiefly to have influenced them in their determination, are, first, the complaints of the officers in the Pennsylvania line; secondly, that I am under no obligation, from the terms of my enlargement, not to act against the enemy without returning an officer of the same rank; and, thirdly, that I have, in no instance since my liberation, been considered in the light of a prisoner of war by the enemy.

Although no definitive steps with respect to me, as I am informed, have been taken, yet I cannot but look upon it as a hardship, that the Commissioners should undertake to pass sentence without affording me an opportunity of representing the reasons which have induced me to observe a line of conduct so contrary to their opinion and judgment. This circumstance, I hope, will plead my excuse for troubling your Excellency with the motives and principles which have directed my conduct in a case so

\* Colonel Cadwalader had been taken prisoner at the assault on Fort Washington, in November, 1776. See Washington's Writings, Vol. IV. p. 188.

new and uncommon; and which, I trust, will have the desired effect with the Commissioners.

As soon as I was known, after I was made prisoner, I was treated with the utmost politeness and humanity by the enemy; and General Prescott having applied to General Howe in my behalf, from a high sense of some civilities shown by my father, procured me my liberty without parole. It was an act of generosity, which I felt very sensibly, but the offer I did not accept, although I had the opinions of some officers who were near me in favor of it.

The idea I entertained of my situation was, that a compliment of the highest nature was paid me in the manner of liberating me, and that the point of honor of sending in an equivalent before I took an active part in the army *was left to me*. Some few, however, when I returned home, being of opinion I might instantly join the army without an exchange, I thought proper to apply to General Gates, who was then in town, and advise with him, he being an old officer, and one who had been bred in a military school. He replied, he would give his opinion as a man of honor and my friend, and that, was he in my situation, he would not act before he was exchanged.

About this time I received your Excellency's letter, making me an offer of sending in to General Prescott to fix upon some friend of his, who was prisoner among us, to be returned to them on the same terms on which I was set at liberty.

This I most joyfully and thankfully accepted, as a mode which would remove every difficulty on my part, and place me on an equal footing with the other officers of the army. But an order to take up all the Field-Officers in our possession, and confine them, in retaliation of the hard usage of General Lee prevented its taking place.

I then ventured so far to trespass on your goodness as to propose sending in such a number of inferior officers as would be equivalent to my rank in the army, which, as I have been informed, is a usual article in the cartels of Europe.

This, as far as I recollect, you wrote me was out of your power, and inconsistent with the cartel settled between the two armies, and could not be done. I then thought I had nothing to do but wait my exchange in course.

Some officers of the British army, taken at Princeton, as my brother informed me, having mistaken him for me, and heard I was with the army again, publicly declared, if I was taken prisoner by the enemy, they would have put me to death.

Sir William Erskine's opinion, given to Colonel Fitzgerald at Brunswic, after the above, was, that I was perfectly free to take an active part without exchange. But, since the evacuation of Philadelphia, happening at the City Tavern, in conversation with Mr. Willing, he told me that General Howe had expressed his opinion with respect to me, in the fullest manner; and, in doing this, his surprise I should take an active part without being exchanged. Mr. Willing told him he had been misinformed, for that he knew I had not joined the army. General Howe then instanced my forcing some recruits for the regiment, who had mutinied on board a shallop in this city. Mr. Willing said, if I had fallen into their hands they would have treated me with great rigor.

It is unnecessary to mention to your Excellency the opinions of a great number of gentlemen in and out of the army, corresponding with my own, on the manner of my being set at liberty, because I did it in a former letter. I did not think it necessary to

trouble you with every incident, as it fell out, relative to me, but the conversation between Mr. Willing and General Howe is, I believe, quite new to you.

Whenever I join the army, I hope to be put on a footing with the other officers in it; nor can it be expected that I should run the hazard of having the propriety of my conduct, in case of falling into the enemy's hands, made a subject of discussion for a Court-Martial, or what is worse, perhaps, for a whimsical, capricious commanding officer, disposed to take advantage of *ex parte* evidence, or to receive the mere say-so of any man who may expect to advance his interest by showing his rancor against me.

Having thus stated to your Excellency the motives and reasons, on which my conduct has been formed, I must beg leave to persist in it, notwithstanding the interested discourses of some officers in the Pennsylvania line.

I have derived no emolument of any kind from the public, since I have been in my present situation. My view has been to serve in the army till our affairs should wear a favorable appearance, and then to quit it, but to apply for a command, if we should be again threatened; and I hope I shall not be precluded from this privilege by any partial determination of the Commissioners of Arrangement; as it is, and ever has been, my fixed principle that it is better not to be, than survive the loss of those blessings which are the objects of this contest, and be a witness of the dreadful scenes which would probably be acted in this country on so unfortunate an occasion. I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect and regard,

Your most obedient servant,

LAMBLET CADWALADER.



FROM THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, 10 October, 1778.

DEAR SIR,

An accident, which has very seldom happened to me in the course of thirty years' business, has deprived me of the honor of making an earlier, and puts it out of my power even now to make a more proper acknowledgment of three of your Excellency's favors, which I remember to have been indebted for antecedent to the receipt of this of the 3d instant, which now lies before me. Those, in removing my desks and their contents from one part of the house to a more convenient, I have mislaid among my private papers, and, after as much search at different times, and particularly this morning, as the fleeting and pressing moments which I dare borrow from public attentions have permitted me to make, remain undiscovered, although I am sure they are safe in a wrong class.

I recollect, however, and shall never forget, a new obligation, which, in one of them, your Excellency was pleased to lay on me by a very kind notice of my son's behaviour at Rhode Island, and that you had returned the gold which I sent to head-quarters, by Jones, and also the letters of Governor Johnstone, Mr. Oswald, and Mr. Manning. In the present circumstances of Great Britain, rendered deplorable by the waste of another campaign on this Continent, by the loss of Dominique, in the West Indies, and of a great marine battle at her own doors, it is exceedingly difficult to determine what will be her next step, although I do not think it is to see the only measures remaining for her salvation.

With respect to South Carolina, I cannot yet treat

the idea of an attack, as altogether chimerical. I am well warranted to say the British Administration held that State and Georgia in reserve, for a stroke of necessity, which might, at any time, be made with success, and they well know the immense value of those States, and great things may be done by drawing their forces to one point. They may, indeed, have stayed a day too late. Be that as it will, I have fully advertised my countrymen; and, if the alarm shall prove to have been unnecessarily sounded, their intermediate exertions towards a defence will do them no real injury. Congress have ordered the proceedings of the Court-Martial on Major-General St. Clair to be printed, and have appointed Friday, the 16th, for considering and determining on those of the Court on Major-General Lee.

I have nothing further to offer at present, Sir, but the repeated assurances of being, with the highest sense of esteem and respect, your Excellency's

Most obedient and most humble servant,

HENRY LAURENS.

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FROM COLONEL BAYLOR.

19 October, 1778.

DEAR SIR,

You have been informed of my unfortunate surprise of the 28th ultimo, and, I make no doubt, of the circumstances; but I think it my duty to make them known to you, and at the same time to justify my conduct.

On the 26th of September I was at Paramus with the regiment, where we had been four days. I directed Major Clough, on the 26th, to send the Quar-

ter-master out to provide quarters for the regiment within four or five miles of Paramus, and at the same distance from the enemy that we then were, and at the same time gave him my reasons for so doing; which he approved of. They were, that I was apprehensive that the enemy would, if we remained more than three or four days in one place, attempt what they executed in two days afterwards.

On the morning of the 27th, I marched the regiment to the quarters provided for us at Harrington, and made it my business, the moment I arrived there, to make every necessary inquiry about the roads leading from the enemy's encampment to our quarters, and also went out and examined the country myself. I was of opinion it was the most secure place I could have stationed myself in, and that it was convenient to gain the earliest intelligence of the movement of the enemy, as it would have been had they not received the most particular intelligence of our guard and patrol.

There were two roads leading from the enemy's camp to our quarters, one on each side of the Hackinsac River. They joined at a bridge, at half a mile distance from our quarters, where I myself fixed a guard, of a sergeant and twelve men, with particular orders to keep a patrol of two men out on each of these roads constantly. They were to patrol a mile below the guard, and to be relieved every hour. The guard were ordered to keep the strictest look-out on the bridge; and I have reason to believe that these orders were punctually obeyed.

On the 28th, early in the morning, the enemy marched up on the west side of the Hackinsac River, within half a mile of the distance the patrols went down the roads; they there sent off a detachment

through the fields some distance from the road, until they had got above the guard, which they cut off without our hearing of it. All communication being cut off from our parties, they marched up to our quarters, and executed the horrid massacre of which Dr. Griffith will inform you the particulars, as appears from the depositions.

I am happy to inform you that my wounds are nearly well, and that I hope soon to regain my former state of health. I am, with respect,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

GEORGE BAYLOR.

FROM COUNT DESTAING.

Boston Royal, 29 October, 1778.

SIR,

Those who have the happiness to be under your Excellency's orders, find in you a father. The Marquis de la Fayette has a superior title to your Excellency's affection; he respects, admires, and loves you. I had the honor of asking you whether you permitted him to send his cartel to Lord Carlisle, to satisfy myself whether you were informed of it. You were so kind as to acquaint me that you had not seen the cartel. I thought, from that circumstance, that you would forbid the execution of it; I am still persuaded that this is the case. Such marks of zeal, bravery, and sensibility, are never authorized in Europe, by its Generals; they might fruitlessly rob the respective nations of their best subjects. Besides, Ambassadors, Commissioners, and men in office, are supposed to speak only in consequence of orders which they have received. As public organs, they owe an account only to their own government of the things

which they hazard. Nations revenge their own injuries; those who have most reason and strength on their side are the most sparing in opprobrious terms, and despise them; they respect their enemies, while they endeavour to subdue them; they surpass them in wisdom, when they refrain from such offensive terms, which, one would think, should be only the useless resource of those who would dissemble their injustice.

I could not, then, but presume that Lord Carlisle would not accept a cartel, which he would have done extremely well to refuse. Older than M. de la Fayette, the experience which age gives tranquillized me upon the two subjects which I have just submitted to your Excellency, and which made me regard the cartel, till now, as almost null. It appeared to me a consequence of the interesting character which led this brave and amiable Frenchman into the service of the United States; to have entreated your interposition in this affair would have appeared like a doubt of your doing it.

The delicacy of my countryman might likewise have been wounded, if it should have been known that your refusal had been solicited by me. I do not hesitate, however, Sir, to make the request. I am this moment informed that General Hancock told M. de Chouin yesterday, that the English Commissioner had provided himself with a substitute. Can he have been guilty of choosing a bully? It is impossible that you should have suffered a doubtful expression in this cartel to have had such an effect. This challenge can only regard my Lord Carlisle, and could not have been construed otherwise. Your Ex-

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\* This rumor was unfounded. See Washington's Writings, Vol. VI. p. 98.

excellency certainly will not have suffered it. Pardon an illudged inciviness, if, in consequence of General Hancock's phrase, I require you, as chief of the French, to hinder an individual to take upon himself alone a concern which is precious, which regards us all, and which is granted by his Majesty to the zeal of his navy and army. I have the honor to be, with respect, Sir, your Excellency's

Most humble and most obedient servant,

ESTAING.

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FROM GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

In Congress, Philadelphia, 11 November, 1778.

DEAR GENERAL,

As Congress have delegated to a Committee, of which I have the honor to be a member, the superintendence of the Commissary and Quarter-master's department, this, together with our finances, which we have long been cobbling at, hath obliged me to consider, in a more complete view, the state of our affairs, than my former detached attention would permit, or, indeed, than my natural indolence would have led to, unsolicited by necessity. While I write to you, you must read and interpret with the eye and the mind of friendship, and suppose a greater modesty of disposition than the language may indicate. For, though I by no means believe myself equal to the smallest of the objects thrown upon me, yet, in speaking of them, I must give a loose to my imagination and my pen; nor can I find either leisure or inclination to attend to style.

First, then, it is a position clear, that we must act according to our powers, and not our inclinations. It is, I am afraid, as clear, that your army

will want subsistence, if kept together. Neither the Quarter-master nor Commissary departments can, in the mercantile phrase, do the needful while you are where you are. I take it, the number of the enemy, and the season, are against active operations on their part. Their situation, the season, our natural and political circumstances, are equally against them on our part. To ravage the country, and to cover it from being ravaged, are then the two objects. The first is base, and, beyond a certain degree, impracticable. The second is, to a certain degree, dangerous and ideal. If it is reduced to a question, for instance, whether the counties of Bergen and Westchester shall be protected by our arms, or the losses paid for, I am ready to purchase the whole of both in fee, and lay them waste, by way of saving money. The like, I take it, will hold good with respect to the environs of Rhode Island.

I cannot, therefore, help being of opinion, that few, very few, troops should remain in the eastern department; but that many of them, if many there be, and a part of your army, should be cantoned along through the towns about the middle of Connecticut River. The post in the Highlands cannot, indeed, be neglected, and perhaps, for the better support of it, another post may be necessary about Fredericksburg. To supply them with provisions will be very difficult, and, whenever the frosts shall become severe, these posts will require much fewer men, and therefore it may be good policy to place those whose times are near expiring on that ground. The sick can, perhaps, be better and safer kept at Albany than elsewhere; and then a part of your force will be there to cover them, mount the necessary guards, &c. At Newark and Elizabethtown, advanced parties may be posted



to cover the interior country and communication. A considerable body at Morristown will be necessary to secure the magazines, which may there be drawn to a point from all the communications, and there, most properly, because perfectly secure, and because naturally a good forage country.

A small body of men will be necessary, for the sake of order, at Sussex Court-House, Porton, Coryell's, Brunswick, Princeton, &c. Amboy will, I imagine, be too dangerous, as, by landing at the Blazing Star, or, in very cold weather, on the meadows between that and Amboy, they might be cut off. A part of the army might be quartered at Trenton, Bordentown, and Burlington, and a part at Valley Forge. The wagons of every kind, and horses, should be sent away from those not exposed. The advanced posts will require a few good horses, but they should have very little baggage, and only light, very light, artillery. A few good cavalry also may be requisite for the videttes.

I cannot conceive that any danger can arise from such dispersion of the army, and I am confident they can in that way be much better fed. My principal view is, I confess, this, that almost all the horses of the army may travel southward, perhaps as far as beyond the Potomac in the two counties of Frederic and in Washington and Barclay counties, there to be boarded with the farmers, by which means they will be fit for use as early as the season will permit. The cavalry might be quartered in little villages, and, if the officers are good, the men as well as horses might improve. This peace and ease would help recruiting; but I have said too much already.

However, as I have disposed of your army, pray let me now dispose of their General. I think Phila-

delphia would be a very proper place for him. In short, Sir, you must contrive to spend some time near Congress, and I am confident you will do more good by establishing a good understanding between them and the army, forwarding its business, and the like, than can be conceived. To all this I add, that, if the General, the Quarter-master, and the Commissary-General are on this spot, all the arrangements for the next campaign will be properly made. One thing more, and I have done. It is, that I wish most earnestly to see you. Adieu. I am, yours,

GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

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FROM COLONEL WOOD.

Williamsburg, 12 November, 1778.

SIR,

I have been here near three weeks, without being able, as yet, to get a final determination on any part of the business I came to transact. On my arrival, I discovered that the whole legislative body were highly pleased, with a thorough persuasion, that the war was at an end, that the British troops were embarking, and that there was not the most distant probability they would again return to the Continent.

On Governor Henry's laying your Excellency's letter before the House, I was happy to find it effectually roused them from their lethargy. They immediately appointed Mr. Mason, Mr. Page, Mr. Nelson, and Mr. Parker a Committee, to confer with me on the state of the troops belonging to the Virginia line. I informed the Committee of the reduction that had taken place in the Virginia regiments, owing to the

great deficiency in the quota assigned to the State; that this measure had disgusted a number of the officers, who, I was confident, would leave the service at the close of the campaign; that it would take two thousand seven hundred and thirty-one, rank and file, to complete the regiments on the present establishment, making a deduction for eight hundred drafts, whose time of service expires in February next; that, by some default in the execution of the act of Assembly, one half of the drafts had never joined the army, but still remain in their respective counties; recommending proper exertions for apprehending them, and obliging them to serve for the time they have been absent, agreeably to law; that desertion prevails, particularly among the troops raised on the frontiers, owing, in my opinion, to that pernicious measure of sending a body of men for the protection of the settlement on Kentucky, which does not consist of more than sixty men, most of whom are land robbers and runaways from the different States, which has formed a harbour for deserters, and every other species of villains. Besides, the idea was ridiculous to think of extending our territory, when we ought to be making use of every exertion to secure what we already occupy.

That a number of enlistments have expired this fall, many of whom might have been reënlisted, had your Excellency been made acquainted with the additional bounty allowed by the Assembly, and been furnished with the necessary sum to have answered that purpose; that reserving a sufficient tract of country for the army, will have a good effect; but that opening a Land-Office, at this time, will be a means of many officers resigning, will make the men, acquainted with the back country, uneasy under their

confinement, and would, in my opinion, effectually prevent the reënlisting any of those whose times of service are near expiring; that the most effectual mode for raising a sufficient number of men to fill up the regiments, will be to hold out a generous bounty, to proportion the number of men to be furnished by each county, according to the number of their militia, and limit a time by which they shall be raised; in failure of which, an indiscriminate draft to take place. By this means it will induce every individual, from motives of interest, to contribute towards increasing the bounty, and in effect to become recruiting officers; that offering large rewards for apprehending deserters, and to oblige them to serve at least double the time of their absence, will be attended with good consequences. In all those propositions the Committee unanimously concurred, and reported them to the House, which were agreed to by a great majority of the House, and bills ordered to be brought in agreeably to the resolutions.

I have preferred the officers' memorial respecting the lands which they have been promised by Government. It is still depending before a Committee; but I have the pleasure to inform your Excellency, that I have the greatest reason to believe they will be unanimous in increasing the proportion of both officers and men, and that they will reserve a very large and valuable part of the back country for their use; indeed, I am happy to find they discover a real inclination to make the situation of their troops, in every respect, as agreeable as possible.

A great part of the present session has been taken up in considering the grants made by the Cherokees to Henderson and Company, which they have at last declared totally void. Disagreeable as my present

situation is. I shall continue here till the bill for removing the regiments passes, and other matters respecting the army are considered; which I am afraid will not be long before Christmas, if I am to judge from their manner of doing business. What makes my stay so very disagreeable is, that my wife is in a declining and very dangerous situation, and that I had not time to stay more than two days with her, on my way from camp. If she should not be recovered on my return, I must beg your Excellency's indulgence to stay some short time with her, if my absence can be dispensed with.

I have discovered the most shameful neglects, in the Executive Department in this State, respecting the clothing and other necessities furnished by the Assembly for the Virginia troops. It appears that clothing, liquors, and other necessities, to the amount of near two hundred thousand pounds sterling, have been sent on, addressed to a Mr. Hollingsworth, a Deputy Quartermaster-General at the head of Elk, who, from every information I can obtain, has sent a great proportion of them to the Clothier-General and Continental Stores, instead of forwarding them to the Virginia agent, for the use of their troops. I have represented this matter to the Assembly, who have directed a strict inquiry to be made, which, I hope, will be a means of our being better supplied in future.

I shall be exceedingly happy if my poor endeavours meet with your Excellency's approbation. I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's very obedient servant,

JAMES WOOD.

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, 20 November, 1778.

DEAR SIR,

I feel myself doubly honored by your favor of the 14th instant, from the confidence of General Washington in the free communication of his sentiments, and in the coincidence of his ideas with my own upon a question, upon the wise decision of which the inheritance, possibly the establishment of the freedom and independence of these States, seem to depend. The respect, Sir, that I owe you demands an immediate reply, and yet the variety of avocations in which I am engaged does not afford me moments for arranging or expressing my thoughts suitably to the importance of the subject. I am, nevertheless, encouraged to proceed, without hesitation, from a conviction that, were I to deliver my opinions at full length, I should be obliged to borrow your Excellency's words, which I have the honor of assuring you, Sir, are, in more than one instance, repetitions of my own, and that in every other, one excepted, our sentiments on this momentous discussion exactly accord.

I believe, and upon good ground, the scheme for an expedition into Canada, in concert with the arms of France, originated in the breast of the Marquis de Lafayette, encouraged, probably, by conferences with Count d'Estaing, and I also believe it to be the offspring of the purest motives, so far as respects that origin; but this is not sufficient to engage my concurrence in a measure big with eventual mischiefs. As deeply as my very limited time and faculties had suffered me to penetrate, I had often contemplated our delicate connection with France; and, although it

is painful to think of one's own foresight, had viewed and foretold, fifteen months ago, the humiliating state to which our embryo independence would be reduced by courting from that nation the loan of more money than should be actually necessary for the support of the army and of our unfortunate navy.

I was one of the six unsuccessful opponents to the resolution for borrowing money from France for paying the interest of our Loan-Office certificates. We have, in this single article, plunged the Union into a vast amount of debt; and, from neglecting to exert our very small abilities, or even to show a leading disposition to cancel any part of the former demand against us, our bills for that interest are now floating, in imminent danger of dishonor and disgrace. Fully persuaded of the true value of national honor, I anxiously wished to support our own by a propriety and consistency of conduct, and I dreaded the consequences of subjecting our happiness to the disposal of a powerful creditor, who may, upon any specious grounds, interpret national honor to our destruction. I warned my friends against the danger of mortgaging these States to foreign powers. Every million of livres you borrow implies a pledge of your lands; and it is optional in your creditor to be repaid at the Bank of England, with an exorbitant premium, or to collect the money due to him in any of your ports, and according to his own mode, whenever national interest shall require the support of pretended national honor.

Hence your Excellency will perceive what were my feelings, when the propositions for subduing Canada, by the aid of a French fleet and army, were first broached to me. I demurred exceedingly to the Marquis's scheme, and expressed some doubts of the



concurrence of Congress. This was going as far as I dared, consistently with my office, or considering him as a gentleman of equal honor and tenacity. I trusted the issue of his application to the sagacity of Congress; the business was referred to a Committee, who conferred with the Marquis; their report was framed agreeably to his wishes; but the House very prudently determined to consult the Commander-in-chief previously to a final determination; and although your Excellency's observations are committed, I am much mistaken if every member in Congress is not decided in his opinion in favor of them. If the prosecution of so extensive an object is, from the present state of our army and funds, impracticable on our part, it becomes altogether unnecessary to discuss the point in a political view. And I trust the Marquis will be satisfied with such reasonings, in apology for our desisting from the pursuit of his favorite enterprise, as our circumstances will dictate.

The immense debts which we are involved in, abroad and at home, demand the utmost serious attention, and call for an exertion of the collected wisdom of all these States, in order to secure what we have saved from the ravages of the enemy. I am very short-sighted if there be, at this time, any encouragement for attempting distant conquests. I have been uniformly averse from every proposition which is intended to dissipate our strength and to accumulate our debt. Events have confirmed my opinion; and at this instant, taking in view all circumstances, I have doubts of the policy, and more of the success, of the pending expedition against East Florida. Congress will probably recommend to the States to raise a tax of near twenty millions the ensuing year. This, I hope, will have a good effect, by returning many

of us to first principles, from which we have been too long wandering. This almost intolerable burden will rouse and animate our fellow-citizens; they will probably send men of ability to investigate causes, to inquire into expenditures, and to call delinquents for unaccounted millions to severe reckonings; they will do what they have hitherto shamefully neglected, pass necessary laws for this purpose.

This heavy tax, and the prospect of increasing impositions, will show our constituents the necessity for consolidating our strength, as well as the impropriety and danger of new extensive military enterprises. Virtue and patriotism were the motto of our banners, when we entered this contest. Where is virtue, where is patriotism, now; when almost every man has turned his thoughts and attention to gain and pleasures, practising every artifice of change-alley, or Jonathans; when men of abilities disgracefully neglect the important duties for which they were sent to Congress, tempted by the pitiful fees of practising attorneys; when members of that body artfully start a point, succeed, and then avail themselves of the secrets of the House, and commence monopolizers, and accumulate the public debt for their private emoluments? I believe many such tricks have been acted. The particular instance which I allude to cost these States a large sum of money without putting the criminal to the expense of a blush. When men, in almost every important public department, are actually concerned in commerce, incompatible with the strict duties of their respective offices; when the most egregious delinquents meet with support in Congress, and escape examination. I am tired, and fear tiring you, Sir, with this horrible, half-finished picture. I will therefore leave it, but not before I add that the

United States of America are in most deplorable circumstances; that the requisitions of a foreign Minister have fixed the eyes of Europe upon them; that their weaknesses, their wickednesses, are no longer hidden, and that the States respectively are much to blame, and that, without speedy reformation, their shame and ruin collectively will follow.

The disaster of Admiral Byron's fleet, and the successful departure of Count d'Estaing's, are events much in our favor; that is to say, if we are pleased to make a wise improvement of them; but, from experience fearing the contrary, I am almost tempted to wish they had not happened. These fortunate circumstances will lull us to sleep again, and, while our ally is gaining honor, aggrandizement, and the highest national advantages, we shall be sinking into a state little better than tributary and dependent. Be this as it may, the world will ever honor by acknowledging the virtues of the man, who, from my inmost soul, I believe keeps us at this moment from crumbling. I have the honor to be, with the most sincere respect and esteem, dear Sir,

Your much obliged and obedient humble servant,  
HENRY LAURENS.

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FROM BRIGADIER-GENERAL CADWALADER.

Philadelphia, 4 December, 1778.

DEAR SIR,

The honorable command given me lately by Congress, would have been very agreeable, if I had not conceived the war to be near the close.\* You may

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\* He had been appointed a Brigadier-General in the Continental army on the 10th of September, with the command of the cavalry, but he declined the appointment.

remembrance in the last conversation I had with your Excellency, I gave my reasons fully for declining any command in the army.

It is no small mortification to me, that, by not entering early into the service, I lost the opportunity of sharing the honors which many officers have gained by serving under your command.

The civilities I received from you, whilst I remained in your family at camp, will ever be remembered with gratitude; and if our affairs should again take an unfortunate turn, be assured you have not a friend more ready than I shall be to share your dangers.

I most sincerely wish you may live to see the liberties of your country established upon the broadest foundation; which I know has ever been your only object, from the beginning of this contest. I am, dear Sir, with the greatest esteem,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

JOHN CADWALADER.

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FROM EDWARD RUTLEDGE.

Charleston, 18 December, 1778.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

Your much esteemed favor of the 5th of October was put into my hands a few days ago by General Lincoln. I sincerely thank you for your recollection of me, and for introducing to my acquaintance a gentleman of his character and merit. He is much caressed; and you may be assured that I shall pay him, and every other person whom I shall know you to regard, all the attention in my power.

I wish I could prevail on myself to pass over that part of your letter, in which you remind me of one long since written by you and unanswered, for I

really blush when I even think of it; but I cannot be silent on the subject, or permit you to entertain the most distant idea, that a conduct, which was really founded in affection, could have proceeded from a different motive. Believe me, my dear General, the true reason of my silence was the uniform declaration of every person who came from your camp, that every moment of your time was occupied by important business; and, though I wished for the continuance of a correspondence which afforded me the highest satisfaction, yet I could not permit myself to add a single feather to the weight which already pressed upon you. Affairs, however, now wear an appearance very different from what they did, and I will resume, with much pleasure, a correspondence which was laid aside with the greatest regret.

You tell me that matters are much changed in the army and politics, since we last parted. God knows they are so, and in more senses than one. In many, they afford me very sensible concern; and, if I am not much mistaken in my conjectures, the worst is yet to come. For, if report, and loud report too, is to be credited, that spirit of cabal and destructive ambition, which has elevated the factious demagogue in every republic of antiquity, is making great head in the centre of these States; and, if not soon extinguished, will do more essential injury to the cause of America than the swords of Sir Harry and his whole army. I have given my opinion to several members of Congress, with great freedom, on this subject; and, if the situation of my private concerns would admit of it with the least degree of convenience, I would give it them in person. But they are much opposed to such a step; and however pleasing it might be to me, to give my sentiments of men

and measures. I must, at present, forego the gratification.

General Lincoln, it seems, is directed by Congress to undertake an expedition against St. Augustine; but I believe it will hardly be attempted this winter. The season is now far advanced, and but few things in readiness. We have not eighteen hundred Continentals in this State; and your experience, as well as the untimely fate of poor Montgomery, has sufficiently taught us how unavailing it is to attempt a siege with an impatient militia. Should he think himself obliged to it, I shall wish him success; but if you do not hear that he has planted the American standard on the ramparts of the Castle, you must not be disappointed. The reduction of the place is certainly of importance to the more Southern States, as it affords assistance to the Indians, and a place of refuge to banditti, called the Florida Scout, who are committing continual depredations on the frontiers; and, as they live by plunder, it is not to be supposed that they will cease their incursions till Augustine is our own. But to have made it so, Congress should have concerted measures earlier and better than they have; for, attributing to them the best intentions, I do not think they will avail.

Mrs. Middleton and Mrs. Rutledge desire me to present their best respects to you; and I beg that you will believe me, my dear General, to be at all times and on all occasions, amongst the most sincere and affectionate of your friends.

EDWARD RUTLEDGE.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL LINCOLN.\*

Charleston, 19 December, 1778.

DEAR GENERAL,

Immediately on my arrival here, I called for a return of the troops and Continental stores in this State, and the State of Georgia, but I have not yet obtained them; otherwise, I should have done myself the honor of inclosing them; but, from all I can learn, there are very few Continental stores in either of the States.

The troops have been supplied by this State; and the heads of the several departments of Medical, Commissary, and Quarter-master, when supplies were necessary, have applied to the civil authority (there being no military chest here), who granted them, or not, as their own judgments dictated, which mode of doing business often created dissensions between the civil and military, and a militation of orders.

In this situation I found matters, and that the army (to use Major-General Howe's own words) "had been in a state of abject dependency on the civil authority." Indeed, the Continental officer commanding in the department has not had it in his power, from the want of supplies which he could control, to march the troops without the consent of the President of this State, however urgent the necessity. I hope things will be better settled, and that I shall never be driven to the hard necessity of altercating with the civil power, than which nothing would be more disagreeable.

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\* It was resolved in Congress, on the 25th of September, "that Major-General Lincoln take command in the Southern department, and repair immediately to Charleston, South Carolina."



The enemy from St. Augustine lately marched into Georgia. They summoned a small fort in Sunbury, but, satisfied with the spirited answer given by the officer commanding it, retreated over the Altamaha River. They plundered negroes, cattle, &c., to a considerable amount. I am not able to learn whether they have left the State or not. What was their original motive, whether a diversion of the troops here, whether to coöperate with a force from New York, or to secure a quantity of provisions, is not yet determined. I think the latter is most probable, though there are some reasons to suppose they expected to act in conjunction with a body from New York.

There are here very few troops, and I think a very small proportion of those called for by Congress will arrive. By the next opportunity, I hope to forward the returns of the troops, and of the few Continental stores in this department. I have the honor to be, dear General, with the greatest esteem and affection,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,  
BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

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FROM GOVERNOR LIVINGSTON.

Elizabethtown, 21 December, 1778.

DEAR SIR,

I have to acknowledge your Excellency's favors of the 16th and 17th instant.

From your Excellency's known disposition to afford this State all the assistance which the circumstances of your troops will permit, I think the reasons as-

signed, in your letter of the 16th, against sending a detachment into Mounmouth, have their weight; and one is often obliged to make those applications against one's own judgment, for the satisfaction, and through the solicitations, of others.

I am happy to find your Excellency concur with me in sentiment respecting the prisoners lately belonging to the British ship, stranded on our coast; and I have acquainted Colonel Beatty that they are to be considered as the prisoners of this State, and to be delivered to the order of Mr. Boudinot, our Commissary. I am exceedingly pleased with the plan your Excellency proposes, in your letter of the 17th, for suffering flag-boats to pass only once a month, except on extraordinary occasions. For the inhabitants of the States, who have no military business to transact, it is quite sufficient; and the inconvenience of being delayed for that space of time, when such establishment is found necessary for the public good, ought to be, and by all true Whigs will be, cheerfully acquiesced in. Indeed, of all those who have applied to me for recommendations to the commanding officer at Elizabethtown, to go to Staten Island or New York, not above one in twenty appeared entitled to that indulgence; and many of them were as venomous Tories as any in the country. It is either from a vain curiosity (extremely predominant in women), cloaked with the pretence of securing their debts or effects, in which they seldom, if ever succeed; or, for the sake of buying tea and trinkets (for which they would as soon forfeit a second Paradise, as Eve did the first, for the forbidden fruit), that they are perpetually prompted to those idle rambles. I have, accordingly, been very sparing in gratifying their requests; but have

often had the mortification to find that many of those whom I had denied, were, notwithstanding, successful in their subsequent addresses to the military officers, who, from a mistaken complaisance, seemed incapable of resisting the solicitations of those eloquent and pernicious vagrants. The men are still more seriously mischievous, and go with commercial motives, and to secure capital quantities of British merchandises.

By a late law, our Legislature has made it penal for any of the inhabitants of this State to go into the enemy's lines without your Excellency's pass or mine; and I am sure I shall not find myself disposed to grant any but in cases in which the principles of charity or humanity evidently appear to require it.

I hope the capture of the thirty Dutch vessels by the enemy on their passage to the West Indies, on pretence of their being intended for America, laden with French goods, will animate their High Mightinesses to vindicate their rights, and protect their commerce. I have the honor to be, with the highest esteem, Dear Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

WILLIAM LIVINGSTON.

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FROM MAJOR-GENERAL LINCOLN.

*Psychurg, on the banks of the Savannah, thirty miles from its mouth, South Carolina; January 5, 1779.*

DEAR GENERAL,

On the evening of the 25th ultimo, I received information at Charleston, that the enemy had arrived, with upwards of twenty ships, at Tybee, near

the mouth of the River Savannah, and in a harbour south of the river. The few troops at Charleston were immediately put in motion, and marched for Georgia. On my way, I met an express from General Howe, who was in Georgia, informing that, on the morning of the 29th, the enemy landed, in force, a little below the town of Savannah; and that he, with five or six hundred men, occupied the heights in front of it; but, upon perceiving that the enemy had turned his right, at some considerable distance, through a swamp he thought impassable, ordered a retreat, which he effected with part of the troops, though the enemy, it is said, were twenty-five hundred or three thousand strong. His loss, in men and officers, I inclose. What stores were lost, I cannot yet learn; among them were six field-pieces. One of the field-pieces only was under the direction of Major-General Howe.

The General speaks well of his officers and men; and that more than they did, could not have been expected. He retreated over the Savannah. I met him here, where we are collecting the troops. Our whole force at this place amounts to about fourteen hundred. As soon as a body of men, equal to covering the State of Georgia, can be collected, we shall recross the Savannah. It ought to be with a respectable force, for the communication with this State is frequently cut off by the Savannah overflowing its banks, which renders the causeways impassable in boats or otherwise. There are no strong grounds in this country; many of the inhabitants of the State are unfriendly; and, besides, the country abounds with navigable rivers; all of which the enemy command, and through which they can, at any time, fall in our rear.

I have met with almost every disappointment since I came into this department. After an encouragement to expect a force consisting of seven thousand men, besides the militia of South Carolina and Georgia, I have now only fourteen hundred. I was assured that there were a great plenty of supplies and military stores; instead of which, there were no field-pieces, arms, tents, camp utensils, lead (and very little powder), intrenching tools; and, in short, hardly an article in the arsenal or Quartermaster-General's store, under the direction of the Commanding Officer in this department. This deficiency of stores did not arise from the neglect of the Commanding Officer, but the want of a military chest. I forbear; the subject is disagreeable; for you to hear, will be painful.

I expected, before now, to have had the honor of forwarding to your Excellency a return of the troops here, but the distracted state of affairs still prevents it.

I have daily the unhappiness to see families of affluence fleeing before the enemy, reduced in a few hours to a state of want.

My wound, which was nearly closed when I left camp, is opening again, and in a worse condition than it was seven months ago; but I flatter myself nothing worse than some small exfoliations will take place. I am, my dear General, with the highest sentiments of esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

*January 6th.* Last evening I heard that the enemy were reënforced by troops from St. Augustine, and now amounted to four thousand; and that Colo-

nel Campbell, the Commander of the British forces in Georgia, had left Savannah, and marched, with his main body, up the river,—whether with a design to cross and attack this post or not, is uncertain.

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FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Boston, 5 January, 1779.

DEAR GENERAL.

In my difficult situation, at such a distance from you, I am obliged to take a determination by myself, which I hope will meet with your approbation. You remember that, in making full allowance for deliberations, the answer from Congress was to reach me before the 15th of last month, and I have long since waited without even hearing from them. Nay, many gentlemen from Philadelphia assure me Congress believe that I am gone long ago. Though my affairs call me home, private interests would, however, induce me to wait for your Excellency's letters, for the decision of Congress about an exchange, in case I should be taken, and for the last determinations concerning the plans of the next campaign.

But I think the importance of the despatches I am the bearer of; the uncertainty and improbability of receiving any others here (my giving intelligence at Versailles may be for the advantage of both nations); the inconvenience of detaining the fine frigate, on board of which I return; and the danger of losing all the men, who desert very fast, are reasons so important as oblige me not to delay any longer. I am the more of that opinion, from Congress having resolved to send, about this time, three fast-sailing

vessels to France, and the Marine Committee leaving promised me to give the despatches to such officers as I would recommend. It is a very good way of forwarding their letters, and sending such as your Excellency may be pleased to write me. I beg you will send copies of them by the several vessels.

To hear from you, my most respected friend, will be the greatest happiness I can feel. The longer the letters you write, the more blessed with satisfaction I shall think myself. I hope you will not refuse me that pleasure as often as you can. I hope you will ever preserve that affection, which I return by the tenderest sentiments.

How happy, my dear General, I should be to come next spring, principally, as it might yet be proposed, I need not to say. Your first letter will let me know what I am to depend upon, on that head; and, I flatter myself, the first from me will confirm to you that I am at liberty, and that most certainly I intend to come next campaign.

My health is now in the best condition, and I would not remember I ever was sick, were it not for the marks of friendship you gave me on that occasion. My good doctor has attended me with his usual care and tenderness. He will see me on board, and then return to head-quarters; but the charge of your friend was intrusted to him till I was on board the frigate. I have met with the most kind hospitality in this city; and, drinking water excepted, the doctor has done every thing he could to live happy. He dances and sings at the assemblies most charmingly.

The gentlemen who, I hope, will go to France, have orders to go to head-quarters; and I flatter myself, my dear General, that you will write me by



them. I beg you will let the bearer of this, Captain Lacolombe, know that I recommend him to your Excellency for the commission of Major.

Be so kind, my dear General, as to present my best respects to your lady, and the gentlemen of your family. I hope you will quietly enjoy the pleasure of being with Mrs. Washington, without any disturbance from the enemy, till I join you again; I also hope you will approve of my sailing, which, indeed, was urged by necessity, after waiting so long.

Farewell, my most beloved General; it is not without emotion I bid you this last adieu, before so long a separation. Don't forget an absent friend, and believe me, forever and ever, with the highest respect and tenderest affection.

On board the Alliance, 19 January, 1779.

I open again my letter, my dear General, to let you know that I am not yet gone; but, if the wind proves fair, I shall sail to-morrow. Nothing from Philadelphia; nothing from head-quarters. So that everybody, as well as myself, is of opinion that I shall be wrong to wait any longer. I hope I am right, and I hope to hear soon from you. Adieu, my dear and forever beloved friend,—adieu.

LAFAYETTE.

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FROM PHILIP MAZZEI.

Colle, in Albemarle, 27 January, 1779.

SIR,

Although I had not in my power to pay you my respects as often as I did wish, the notice you were pleased to take of me, when I came into the coun-

ty, will, I hope, apologize for the liberty I take of asking the honor of your commands for France and Italy, which I am certain to receive, if lodged with the Governor or Mr. Blair, in Williamsburg.

I am going to Europe with the most sanguine expectations of success in my endeavours to promote whatever may be of present and future advantage to this Continent. Mr. Harvie and another gentleman told me, some time ago, that you had inquired what success I have had, and what prospect I have, relative to the new branches of agriculture which I have attempted to introduce in our country. Experience has convinced me that this country is better calculated than any other I am acquainted with for the produce of wine; but I cannot say the same in regard to oil and lemons. It is true that we cannot call what I have had as yet a fair trial, the seasons having been, by all accounts, much worse than any man remembers. And it is not improbable that the same seasons would not have been so detrimental to the plants, if they had previously acquired age and vigor. One spring as bad as those we have had ever since I came, except the last, would, in Italy and the south of France, have destroyed all the young vines and many of the old. Here many of my vines, planted under several disadvantages, have not only survived repeated severe spring frosts, but they are now more vigorous and luxuriant than vines of the same age would be in those countries, and have sooner produced grapes in respectable quantity and as good.

Should I be so happy as to succeed in my endeavours abroad, I hope soon to return with the means of prosecuting my undertaking with vigor; in which case my veneration for your personal merit, and the

natural desire of seeing the Deliverer of our country, must excuse me for assuming to go and give you, in person, an account of what I shall have done to that place of rural felicity, where I wish you may long enjoy the fruits of your heroism. With profound respect I have the honor to be, Sir, your Excellency's

Most humble and most obedient servant,  
 PHILIP MAZZEI.

FROM THOMAS PAINE.

Philadelphia, 31 January, 1779.

SIR,

Hearing that you leave this place to-morrow, I beg you to accept a short reason why I have not waited on you.

I have been out nowhere for near these two months. The part I have taken in an affair, that is yet depending, rendered it most prudent in me to absent myself from company, lest I should be asked questions improper to be answered, or subject myself to conversation that might have been unpleasant. That there has been foul play somewhere, is clear to every one; and where it lies, will, I believe, soon come out.

Having thus explained myself, I have to add my sincerest wishes for your happiness in every line of life, and to assure you that, as far as my abilities extend, I shall never suffer a hint of dishonor or even a deficiency of respect to you to pass unnoticed. I have always acted that part, and am confident that your virtues and conduct will ever require it from me as a duty, as well as render it a pleasure.

I never heard either Colonel R. or Colonel T. Lee

expressed sentiment in your display. I can answer for nothing farther. I likewise take the liberty of mentioning to you that, at the time some discontents from the army and the country last winter were doing you great injustice, I published the fifth number of the *CRISIS*, in which I hoped, by bringing your former services in view, to shame them out, or at least to convince them of their error. I was then at Lancaster, and on my return to Yorktown I saw the Foreign Committee, of which Colonel R. H. Lee was chairman, had sent off despatches to France. The copy was in his handwriting, and in these despatches he inclosed that pamphlet, and spoke of it as "the general sentiments of America on what the enemy had so boastingly called their successes."

I am very desirous of bidding you farewell, and intend making you a short visit to-day for that purpose, notwithstanding the reasons I have before mentioned. I am, with every wish for your happiness,

Your obedient, humble servant,

THOMAS PAINE.

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FROM ROBERT RUTHERFORD.

Berkley County, Virginia, 8 February, 1779.

DEAR SIR,

It is with singular pleasure I congratulate your Excellency on the short relaxation from the utmost exertions in the field, where you have rendered your country most essential services, and gained lasting honor to yourself. I have not ventured to trouble you with letters, truly sensible how many and great were the important matters that must necessarily en-

gage your unceasing attention ; but your safety, honor, and happiness, were ever very near to me.

I well know the generous goodness of your heart in the case of every brave officer, or common sentinel, and that nothing on your part will be wanting to alleviate their sufferings ; but the bearer, Major Drake, my neighbour, and of whose integrity I have long been convinced, being now on his way to New York, I cannot withhold my particular recommendation of him to your Excellency's notice, and hope that Congress will coöperate with you in all possible means for the ease and advantage of him, and every other officer of distinguished merit.

It is with much concern I find the resolve of Congress, respecting the money emissions of May 20th, 1777, and April 11th, 1778, giving great and general alarm, tending to depreciate the currency, as the holders of these emissions are really deprived of the use of their money for six months, as it in a great measure ceases to pass here in payments ; and, what is an additional misfortune, our Assembly have laid on an enormous assessment, in payment of which not one shilling of this money can be applied, as the sheriffs cannot make any part of their collections by the 1st of June. Assuredly Congress have not taken the whole matter into the account, as I am informed that large sums of this money are now in the possession of the subjects of Spain upon the Mississippi, they being enjoined by the Governor of Orleans to receive it, not to mention many other obvious objections ; so that I am sensible it will be consistent with the wonted justice and prudence of that august body, without loss of time, to revise and greatly change the terms of that resolve.

It is now with me conclusive, that nothing will

answer our purpose but adopting a former recommendation of Congress in the several States (though I then thought it impolitic), that of fixing some bounds to our produce, manufactures, &c.; at the same time that I should be for allowing very liberal prices, even five or six times as much as formerly (if the demand obliged the purchaser to bid so high), and to encourage manufactures in the highest degree; but not to suffer the mechanic, the extortioner, those in the character of tavern-keepers, and a few others, to swallow up the States. Foreign trade will, of course, be regulated by the demand for European articles; if they are very high, we shall purchase the fewer of them.

Indian affairs do not strike me in an agreeable point of view; for certainly we can expect no real friendship from that troublesome and formidable people, till we supply them upon equal terms, at least, with our enemies, and convince them, in every other respect, of our justice, equality, and moderation towards them.

I cannot enlarge upon many other matters, having already given your Excellency too much trouble; and I shall only add my ardent wishes, that you may continue to be the peculiar care of a superintending Providence; that your life may be prolonged for the temporal saving of the United States, and to enjoy, with the most perfect felicity, your family, friends, and fortunes amidst the grateful acclamations of a great and generous people. I am joined by my brother and our families. Pray make my compliments agreeable to your good lady. I am, with great affection,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

ROBERT RUTHERFORD.

FROM GOVERNOR CLINTON.

Poughkeepsie, 3 March, 1779.

DEAR SIR,

Although there have been no hostilities committed by the enemy during the winter on the western frontier of this State, the inhabitants, particularly of Tryon county, are so strongly impressed with apprehensions of danger on the opening of the spring, that many of them have already, and I am informed that most of them will speedily, remove into the interior parts of the country, unless they can have reason to expect more perfect protection than we were able to afford them last year. Within a few weeks I have received repeated applications from them on this subject, intimating their intentions to abandon their settlements, unless I could assure them that such measures would be pursued as would render them secure; and, as I am sensible that nothing short of spirited offensive operations against the savages can effect this, I find myself particularly embarrassed. If I am much longer silent, they will remove, and to encourage them to continue might, in the event, be cruel.

I would therefore wish, if offensive operations are really intended in that quarter, that I might have such intimation of it as would enable me to give general assurances to the inhabitants to induce them to continue on their farms, which, considering the present general scarcity of bread, will be a capital object, as that county is one of the principal granaries of this State. I am also induced to make this application to your Excellency, as our Legislature is now sitting, and discover a disposition to enable me to



call out a body of men for the ensuing season to coöperate with such Continental troops as your Excellency may destine for this service.

I am advised that Lieutenant-Colonel Willard, who has an influence among the people of Tryon county (from his exertions at Fort Schuyler when invested by St. Leger), might be serviceably employed in arranging the militia there for a few months, and I would be glad to have it in my power to call him to that service, if I should esteem it necessary; and this, I presume, might be done without injuring his regiment, as it is completely officered.

I will be much obliged to your Excellency for any late intelligence which you are at liberty to communicate. I am, with the highest respect and esteem,

Your most obedient servant,

GEORGE CLINTON.

P. S. I omitted mentioning that, if we raise any number of men, we shall be at a loss to arm them fit for the field, unless we can be supplied by the public, the arms to be returned at the expiration of the time allotted for the service.

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FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GATES.

Boston, 4 March, 1779.

SIR,

Yesterday I had the honor to receive your Excellency's letter of the 14th ultimo, from Middlebrook. I am sorry to find your Excellency seems to have given over all thoughts of penetrating into Canada by the route of Coos, after the preparations made for that purpose, at an incredible expense.

I am satisfied you could not have advised with two men, upon this Continent, better acquainted with the practicable routes to the River St. Lawrence, than General Bayley and Colonel Hazen, the latter being an officer of great merit and service, and who long resided upon the River Sorel; and the former, the best of any acquainted with the country between Coos and Lake St. Peter's, who likewise has the most extensive influence upon the brave and numerous inhabitants in the northern parts of the States which lie near Canada. As your Excellency advised with them, and determined upon the route by Coos, I beg leave to express my astonishment at the sudden change of your sentiments, and relinquishment of that plan.

To go into Canada by Lake Champlain, before the enemy's fleet are taken or destroyed, is almost impracticable; to attempt it by Lake Ontario, before Niagara is taken, and vessels upon that Lake are removed, is still more difficult, as the Fort at La Gabelle must be reduced before the passage down the River St. Lawrence is open to Montreal. I believe that, in the present state of our army, and the actual situation of our magazines, to attempt a serious invasion of Canada, by whatever route, would prove unsuccessful, unless the fleet of our allies should, at the same time, coöperate with us, by sailing up the River St. Lawrence. In that case, the enemy's force would all (their fleet excepted) move down the river, to succour Quebec; and our armament from Coos, assisted by the Canadians, who would flock to meet us, might march in the utmost security from Coos to Lake St. Peter's. The Upper Canada would then be wholly ours, and the English fleet on Lake Champlain, thus rendered useless, would be destroyed by

its own crews, before these should be ordered down the river, to make the best of their way to Quebec.

I much lament the amazing and needless expense that is incurred by the preparations making on the upper part of Hudson's River; for, I am confident, no force of ours can get into Canada by either of the routes from Albany, in 1779.

The last paragraph of your Excellency's letter alarms me exceedingly. There is no magazine of flour in all these States; and to have no hopes of procuring one, either by land or sea, is a most melancholy consideration.

The Navy Board, here, just now acquainted me with their having lost all hopes of any supply of rice from South Carolina, that State having laid an embargo on that article. With very great respect and esteem, I am, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,  
HORATIO GATES.

FROM THOMAS CHITTENDEN, GOVERNOR OF VERMONT.

Bennington, 6 March, 1779.

SIR,

I am directed, by my Council and the General Assembly of this State, to recommend to your Excellency the present unhappy situation of the inhabitants of the northern frontiers of this State, and to pray your Excellency's interposition for their future relief.

The contiguous situation of these inhabitants to the enemy, has rendered their safety peculiarly uncertain, from the first commencement of the present war. The many alarms, occasioned by the approaches of

the enemy, have kept its inhabitants in such a fluctuating condition, as has rendered it impracticable for them to have secured any considerable supplies of provisions for the subsistence of their families beforehand. The encroachments of the army, under the command of Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, into this State, in the year 1777, their daring attempt to destroy this town, and the public stores then deposited here, commanded the attention, as well as the most vigorous exertions of those inhabitants; and, although there were at that time very plentiful crops of grain, corn, hay, &c., on the ground, yet the enemy prevented the inhabitants from securing any considerable part of it.

By their continuing in service, for the purpose of reducing General Burgoyne to a submission, the season of the year was so far advanced, as to put it out of the power of those inhabitants to make the necessary preparations for a crop of winter grain, on which they have had their greatest dependence, since the first settlement of this part of the country.

They are, therefore, the principal part of them, reduced to an Indian cake, in scant proportion to the number of their families; and by the destruction of their sheep by the enemy, and their loss of them otherwise, as well as of their flax, their bellies and backs are become co-sufferers.

In this deplorable situation, may it please your Excellency, they remain firm and unshaken, and being generally well armed and accoutred, are ready, on any sudden emergency, and on the shortest notice, to face and encounter their inveterate foe undaunted; but, on viewing their present circumstances, it may be your Excellency may be prevailed on to make such provision for the security of those fron-

riors (which are no less so to three other States), as to prevent the fatal necessity of continuing these individuals in constant service the ensuing summer.

With this will be communicated a copy of Brigadier-General Clinton's letter, of the 25th ultimo, by which your Excellency will perceive his readiness to grant every relief in his power.

In consequence of his advice, I have ordered the continuance of the company of militia therein named, and an addition of fifty men, exclusive of officers, to join them immediately.

If, after all that has been exhibited on this subject, it should be found inconsistent to adopt any other measures in the case, I desire an order may be granted for the subsistence and pay of the officers and soldiers, that may be found necessary to be raised from time to time, within this State, for the purpose aforesaid.

The bearer hereof, Joseph Fay, Esq., in whose attachment to the common cause your Excellency may repose the greatest confidence, will be able to give any further intelligence in the premises, and particularly wait any advice or directions your Excellency may please to communicate. I am, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

THOMAS CHITTENDEN.

FROM GOVERNOR HENRY.

Williamsburg, 13 March, 1779.

Sir,

The reasons hinted in your Excellency's last favor are certainly of such weight as to prevent the flag-of-truce vessels, coming with stores, &c., for the Con-

vention troops, from proceeding further than Hampton Road. Orders are, therefore, issued to-day, for vessels of our own to be ready at that place to convey the stores upwards to their destination, under the superintendence of proper Commissaries.

My last accounts from the South are unfavorable. Georgia is said to be in full possession of the enemy, and South Carolina in great danger. The number of disaffected there is said to be formidable, and the Creek Indians inclining against us. One thousand militia are ordered thither from our southern counties; but a doubt is started whether they are by law obliged to march. I have also proposed a scheme to embody volunteers for this service; but I fear the length of the march, and a general scarcity of bread, which prevails in some parts of North Carolina and this State, may impede this service. About five hundred militia are ordered down the Tennessee River, to chastise some new settlements of renegade Cherokees that infest our south-western frontier, and prevent our navigation on that river, from which we began to hope for great advantages. Our militia have full possession of the Illinois, and the posts on the Wabash; and I am not without hopes that the same party may overawe the Indians as far as Detroit. They are independent of General McIntosh, whose numbers, although upwards of two thousand, I think could not make any great progress, on account, it is said, of the route they took, and the lateness of the season.

The conquest of Illinois and Wabash was effected with less than two hundred men, who will soon be reinforced; and, by holding posts on the back of the Indians, it is hoped may intimidate them. Forts Natchez and Morishac are again in the enemy's hands;

and from thence they infest and ruin our trade on the Mississippi, on which river the Spaniards wish to open a very interesting commerce with us. I have requested Congress to authorize the conquest of those two posts, as the possession of them will give a colorable pretence to retain all West Florida, when a treaty may be opened, and, in the mean time, ruin our trade in that quarter, which would otherwise be so beneficial. I can get no answer to this application, although it is interesting to our back settlements, and not more than four hundred men required for the service.

I beg pardon for intruding these several subjects upon you. If you find leisure to make any observations upon them, they will be highly acceptable. With every sentiment of regard and esteem, I am, dear Sir,

Your most obedient servant,  
PATRICK HENRY.

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FROM GOVERNOR CLINTON.

Poughkeepsie, 18 March, 1779.

DEAR SIR,

I have had the honor of receiving your Excellency's letters of the 4th and 6th instant, and am happy in being thereby enabled to give such general assurances of protection to the frontier inhabitants as, I have reason to hope, will prevent their deserting their settlements. This your Excellency may be assured will be done, with the utmost regard to that secrecy which is necessary to insure success in offensive operations; and, therefore, the greatest care will be taken not to give them the most remote idea of any such intention.



The Legislature, before they adjourned, empowered me to embody one thousand men for the defence of the northern and western frontiers, or such other service as I should judge proper to employ them in. This was the most they conceived the State, under its present distressed situation, was able to raise; and the greater part of them were intended to join the troops to be employed in defensive operations against the savages. Since the rising of the Legislature, I have received the resolve of Congress for filling up the Continental battalions; and this will put me under the necessity of taking at least one half of these levies for the purpose, as it would be impracticable to convene the Legislature in season to make any new provision for that service, even though our circumstances would admit of it.

I do not imagine we shall be able to derive any considerable force from the inhabitants, whose settlements have been destroyed. Their losses and consequent distresses are so great, that it requires the utmost industry to support their families; and the pay in the army, considering the depreciated state of our currency, would not be competent for this purpose. The most of their young men are already engaged in the Continental battalions. Some, however, from a desire of revenge for their losses, will, at all events, engage: and the neighbourhoods that have been less distressed will furnish a considerable proportion, who, being as well acquainted with the country, will be equally serviceable.

In order to deceive the enemy into a belief that we intend acting on the defensive only, I submit to your Excellency the propriety of erecting one or two small posts on the nearest navigable waters of the Susquehanna. They would not only answer the

above purpose, but serve also as a security to the settlements, and, of course, induce the militia to engage in the service with greater alacrity. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the country to determine with certainty the particular places best calculated for such posts; but, from the general idea I have of the country, I am led to believe that Unadilla, and where the Susquehanna empties out of the Lakes west of Cherry Valley, would be the most eligible. These posts might be maintained by militia, at least while the other troops were employed in offensive operations. I have the honor to be, with the highest esteem and regard, dear Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,  
 GEORGE CLINTON.

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FROM MAJOR-GENERAL SULLIVAN.

Mill Stone, 16 April, 1779.

DEAR GENERAL,

As your Excellency has honored me with an appointment to command the intended expedition,\* I must beg leave to lay my sentiments before you in writing; as words used in conversation may vanish in air, and the remembrance of them be lost, while writing will remain, either to justify my opinion, or to prove that it was erroneous. The variety of reasons, which I urged yesterday, for passing with the main body up the Mohawk River, and down by Wood Creek to the Cayuga Lake, still have their weight in my mind; but, as General Schuyler writes

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\* An expedition against the hostile tribes of the Six Nations of Indians. See the Instructions in Washington's Writings, Vol. VI. p. 264.

that they cannot be supplied with provisions, the plan must be given up, and that of passing with the main body up the Susquehanna adopted.

The force which I have requested for that quarter, is three thousand effective men, after all proper deductions are made for guards at the several posts, for boatmen, hospital guards, tenders, &c. &c. That these should be collected before we enter the Indian country, appears to me essentially necessary, as it is supposed that the principal opposition we shall meet will be between Wyoming and Tioga. Should this be the case, as seemed to be the general opinion in Council yesterday, we can derive no advantage from the party on the Mohawk River, as they are not to join us until we have established a post at Tioga. Should they attempt to join us before, they must be defeated in passing down the Susquehanna; and, should our numbers be such as to admit of a defeat before we arrive at Tioga, as we can have no communication with the other party, and they are to regulate themselves by a plan fixed before we march, they will remain ignorant of our defeat, and of course proceed at the time appointed, and in all probability fall into the hands of the enemy. If we are to expect the principal opposition before we arrive at Tioga, it is absurd to reckon, for part of our force, troops who are not to attempt joining us before we have passed the principal danger.

Indeed, I have no great dependence upon the advantages to be derived from so small a party in that quarter. It was yesterday said, that we might expect fourteen hundred Indians to oppose us in our march. Your Excellency will permit me to say, that fourteen hundred Indians, perfectly acquainted with

the country, capable of seizing every advantage which the ground can possibly afford, perfectly acquainted with the use of arms, inured to war from their youth, and, from their manner of living, capable of enduring every kind of fatigue, are no despicable enemy, when opposed to three thousand troops, totally unacquainted with the country and the Indian manner of fighting, and who, though excellent in the field, are far from having that exactness with fire-arms or that alertness in a wooded country, which Indians have.

As so many facts have contributed to prove this, it will be unnecessary for me to say more upon the subject. If I was not a party concerned in this expedition, and my opinion was asked of the force necessary to insure success, I should give it, that the force of each party should be equal to the highest estimate of the enemy's force in that country, that they might be able to form a junction at all events, and put the matter beyond possibility of doubt; and, after that, they would be enabled to detach and conquer the country in an eighth part of the time that they would, if obliged, for their own safety, to keep in a body. I know that the estimated force of the Indians is small; but, when I consider that underrating the number of the enemy has been a prevailing error with us since the commencement of the war, that we have had persons from among them, both inhabitants and deserters, and have had the proceedings, debates, and calculations of Parliament before us, and yet have frequently mistaken their number more than one half, I cannot suppose but that we are still liable to fall into the same error, where we can have no evidence, and every thing told us respecting them is a mere matter of opinion. In addition to this, let me repeat what I observed yesterday, which is the

probability of a force being sent from Canada by way of Lake Ontario. I also beg leave to observe that, when our advancement upon the Susquehanna is known, it will probably be conjectured that our intention is against Niagara, which will induce the enemy strongly to reënforce that post. This they may do in a fortnight, as it is but one hundred and ten miles from Montreal to Oswegachie, and their vessels can take troops from thence to Niagara in three or four days; and, when they find that our intention is against the Indian settlements, those troops will undoubtedly join them. From these considerations it must appear that the demand I have made is far from being unreasonable, even exclusive of the party sent on their flanks. I well know that Continental troops cannot be spared for this purpose, but good militia should undoubtedly be called for. The expedition is undertaken to destroy those Indian nations, and to convince others that we have the power to carry the war into their country, whenever they commence hostilities. Should we fail in the attempt, the Indians will derive confidence from it, and grow more insolent than before.

I beg leave further to mention, that, in my opinion, the troops selected for this expedition are by no means equal to those they must expect to encounter; especially the Pennsylvania troops, as they are principally made up of old countrymen, who are totally unacquainted with that kind of fighting, which they must adopt. I have conversed with General St. Clair upon this head, who is fully of my opinion. The best troops, in my opinion, for this expedition, are General Poor's brigade, who are all marksmen, and accustomed to the Indian mode of fighting. I think the Jersey troops good; the York troops I know no-

thing of the other broken corps I can say nothing about, only that when they come to act in a body with others, much cannot be expected from them.

Thus have I submitted my sentiments to your Excellency, and trust that my reasoning upon the subject must prove, that three thousand good and effective men, at least, will be necessary to march from Ticonderoga, exclusive of those which your Excellency may think proper to direct to operate on the other flank of the enemy. I have the honor to be, with the most lively sentiments of esteem and respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

JOHN SULLIVAN.

P. S. Since writing the above, I have shown it to General St. Clair, who says that his sentiments correspond with mine in every particular. J. S.

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.\*

Philadelphia, 21 April, 1779.

DEAR SIR,

Accept my thanks for the long and friendly letter of the 14th instant, which I have had the pleasure of receiving from you. It was, for many reasons, grateful to me. I value the esteem of the wise and virtuous, and had wished to know the particulars of transactions respecting which only vague and unsatisfactory reports had come to my knowledge. Delicacy forbade my breaking the subject to you when here.

\* Mr. Jay was elected President of Congress on the 19th of December, 1778.

I was sure of your politeness, but not certain of a more than usual degree of confidence. The latter has now been made manifest, and, permit me to assure you, it shall be mutual.

The impression attempted to be made has not taken. It passed without a single remark. Your friends thought it merited nothing but silence and neglect. The same reason induced me to take no notice of it in my answer. I have perused the several papers with which you favored me. The delicacy, candor, and temper diffused through your letter, form a strong contrast to the evasions and design observable in some others. Gratitude ought to have attached a certain gentleman to the friend who raised him. A spurious ambition, however, has, it seems, made him your enemy. This is not uncommon. To the dishonor of human nature, the history of mankind has many pages filled with similar instances; and we have little reason to expect that the annals of the present or future times will present us with fewer characters of this class. On the contrary, there is reason to expect they will multiply in the course of this revolution.\*

Seasons of general heat, tumult, and fermentation, favor the production and growth of some great virtues, and of many great and little vices. Which will predominate, is a question which events not yet produced, nor now to be discerned, can alone determine. What parties and factions will arise, to what objects be directed, what sacrifices they will require, and who will be the victims, are matters beyond the sphere of human prevision. New modes of Government, not

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\* For an explanation of the above allusions, see Washington's Writings, Vol. VI. p. 214.



generally understood, nor, in certain instances, approved; want of moderation and information in the people; want of abilities and rectitude in some of their rulers; a wide field open for the operations of ambitious men, raised from low degrees to high stations, and rendered giddy by elevation and the extent of their views; laws dictated by the spirit of the times, not the spirit of justice and liberal policy; latitude in principles, as well as commerce; fluctuation in manners and public counsels; suspension of education; indifference to religion and moral obligation, &c., &c.,—are circumstances that portend evils, which much prudence, vigor, and circumspection are necessary to prevent or control.

To me there appears reason to expect a long storm, and difficult navigation. Calm repose, and the sweets of undisturbed retirement, appear more distant than a peace with Britain. It gives me pleasure, however, to reflect, that the period is approaching when we shall become citizens of a better ordered State; and the spending a few troublesome years of our eternity in doing good to this and future generations, is not to be avoided or regretted. Things will come right, and these States will be great and flourishing. The dissolution of our Governments threw us into a political chaos. Time, wisdom, and perseverance will reduce it into form, and give it strength, order, and harmony. In this work you are (in the style of one of your professions) a *master builder*; and God grant that you may long continue a *free and accepted* one!

Thus, my dear Sir, I have indulged myself in thinking loud in your hearing; it would be an Hibernicism to say in your sight, though, in one sense, more true. It is more than probable that I shall frequently

do the like. Your letter shall be my apology, and the pleasure resulting from converse with those we esteem, my motive. I am, dear Sir, with perfect esteem and regard,

Your most obedient servant,

JOHN JAY.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Philadelphia. 24 April, 1779.

SIR,

Your Excellency's favor of the 22d was delivered to me this afternoon. I am happy to find you have wrote so fully to Congress, upon the disagreeable consequences that may follow from starving the Quartermaster's department at this critical season. I wish it may have the desired effect, and rouse their attention; but I must confess I am afraid the stupor is so great, that nothing can alarm their fears, or promote a spirit of industry.

I had but very little prospect, from my own application, of obtaining the necessary supplies of cash. What additional influence your Excellency's letter will give to my reasons and representation, time only can manifest.

The treasury appears to be hard pressed on every side; and the demands of this time are infinitely greater than it is in their power to satisfy with the greatest exertions, upon the present plan of striking money. The truth of the affair is, there has been a great degree of negligence and want of timely attention, to prepare seasonably for the present demands. When I was in town in the winter, I reported to the Treasury Board what I thought would be absolutely

necessary for the Quarter-master's department to the 24 of March; not one half of which have we been able to get, although every thing has been urged to induce them to supply our wants.

On my arrival here, I laid your Excellency's letter respecting wagoners, before a Committee of Congress. They immediately confirmed it by a resolution, notwithstanding they had been hammering upon the business for almost two months, off and on; and finally had put it (before the receipt of your letter) upon a very restrictive plan.

The business of financing is in a poor way. There is no plan found, or scheme digested, for mending our money. There are a thousand projects on foot; but none appears to be taken up on a practical footing.

There are complaints and murmurings in Congress against the people of this State, and the people of the State complain against the proceedings of Congress. It is said, days and weeks together are spent upon the most trifling disputes in the world; and those generally of a personal nature. What will be the issue of this policy, I know not.

I have wrote circular letters to all the deputies in my department on the east side of the Susquehanna, to enlist as many wagoners as they possibly can by the middle of next month; and to have all the public teams forwarded so as to be in camp by that time. I expect our wagon-horses will fall short, as our agents have but a scanty supply of money. However, I will do the best I can.

I wish to know whether I must increase the number of pack-horses. Orders have been given for one thousand; but General Sullivan thinks near five hundred more will be wanted. It does not appear so to me; but I am not a good judge of the business.

The Board of War are out of lead; and I fear the ammunition will not be ready. This is only conjectural.

I wrote your Excellency before, that the Minister of France sets out for camp on Tuesday next. Don Juan will accompany him. There is a French ship just arrived from the West Indies; but I cannot learn that she brings any thing new.

I intended to have set out for camp to-morrow, but I believe I shall not be ready until Monday in the forenoon. I have desired Congress to give me leave to resign, as I apprehended a loss of reputation, if I continued in the business. They are not disposed to grant my request at all. But unless they change their system, or publish their approbation upon the present, I shall not remain long in the business. I will not sacrifice my reputation for any consideration whatever. I am willing to serve the public; but I think I have a right to choose that way of performing the service which will be most honorable to myself. I should be willing to serve in the department I am in for a proper consideration, if I could serve without the loss of reputation; but not without.

I believe it has been a received opinion, that I was so very fond of the emoluments of the Quartermaster's office, that nothing but absolute necessity would induce me to quit it. I will not deny but that the profits are flattering to my fortune, but not less humbling to my military pride; and he who has entertained such sentiments is a stranger to my feelings. While I had a prospect of pleasing your Excellency, the army, and the Congress, the service was agreeable; but if a combination of circumstances changes these prospects, nothing shall induce me to

continue in the business, even if the profits were made five times as large as they are.

There is a great difference between being raised to an office and descending to one: which is my case. There is also a great difference between serving where you have a fair prospect of honor and laurels, and where you have no prospect of either, let you discharge your duty ever so well. Nobody ever heard of a Quarter-master in history, as such, or in relating any brilliant action. I engaged in this business as well out of compassion to your Excellency as from a regard to the public. I thought your task too great, to be Commander-in-chief and Quarter-master at the same time. Money was not my motive. For you may remember I offered to serve a year unconnected with the accounts, without any additional pay to that which I had as Major-General. However, this proposition was rejected as inadmissible. Then I told the Committee that I would serve upon the same terms that Mr. Cox and Mr. Pettit could be engaged upon; and I have nothing more now, although I have a double share of duty, and am held responsible for all failures.

Before I came into the department, your Excellency was obliged often to stand Quarter-master. However capable the principal was of doing his duty, he was hardly ever with you. The line and the staff were at war with each other. The country had been plundered in a way that would now breed a kind of civil war between the staff and the inhabitants. The manner of my engaging in this business, and your Excellency's declaration to the Committee of Congress, that you would stand Quarter-master no longer, are circumstances which I wish may not be forgotten; as I may have occasion, at some future day, to appeal to your Excellency for my own justification.

One thing I can say, with truth and sincerity, that I have conducted the business with as much prudence and economy, as if my private fortune had been answerable for the disbursements. And I believe your Excellency will do me the justice to say, the department has coöperated with your measures as far as circumstances were to be governed by me; and this you had reason to apprehend would not have been the case had I not taken direction of the business. And here, in justice to my colleagues, I shall mention that I think them entitled to your Excellency's personal esteem, from the warmth of their wishes, and a desire to promote your ease and convenience.

I am more acquainted with Mr. Pettit's mode of doing business than I am with Mr. Cox's; but I think the public under great obligations to the former for his method and economy. I am, with the most perfect esteem, your Excellency's

Most obedient, humble servant,

NATHANAEL GREENE.

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FROM PRESIDENT REED, OF PENNSYLVANIA.\*

In Council, Philadelphia, 24 April, 1779.

SIR,

Your Excellency's letter of the 20th instant has been laid before the Board, informing us that a Court-Martial will be held at camp on the 1st of May instant, "for the trial of General Arnold on the first, second, third, and fifth charges exhibited against him by this Board."

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\* General Reed had been elected President of Pennsylvania on the 1st of December, 1779.

We apprehend there must have been some mistake in the mode of transmitting this business to your Excellency, as we never exhibited any other charge against General Arnold to Congress, than that of appropriating the public wagons of the State to private uses, and that only that he might remain to answer. Nor do we think it by any means consistent with the duty we owe the State to be considered in the light of parties, as thereby we may establish a principle, under which we may either submit silently to injuries and insults, or follow military Courts into any part of the country, wherever the service may require the army to be.

The light in which we have ever considered ourselves, and which we would wish to be considered by your Excellency, is as a public body, the representatives of the freemen of Pennsylvania, expressing our opinion of General Arnold's conduct, founded upon facts disclosed to us, and answering to our own knowledge, asking nothing of Congress but that he should not continue to command in this State. The history of this country affords many instances of this proceeding in the cases of oppressive Governors, and it is a right which we hold independent, and unaccountable to any other power. No one doubts the right of a public body to praise, and this shows very strongly they have a power to censure, it only operating as an opinion, unaccompanied with any punishment.

In the present instance, General Arnold refused to give any explanation of his conduct, though civilly requested, or ever offered to disprove the facts alleged; of course we were obliged to exercise our judgments upon the evidence and proofs we had. At the same time we perfectly approve the trial, be-



ing of opinion, that General Arnold's conduct deserves some military reprehension; and we doubt not the officers of the army will impartially weigh the duty they owe to the country, as well as the person charged; and if the facts are proved, let the palliating circumstances, if there are any, operate on the sentence, not on the nature of the transaction. Such is the dependence of the army upon the transportation of this State, and such the feelings of the people upon this sort of duty, that, should the Court treat it as a light and trivial matter, and found an opinion upon any other grounds than the innocence of the charge, we fear it will not be practicable to draw forth wagons in future, be the emergency what it may, and it will have very bad consequences.

We could have wished your Excellency had appointed a later day, or we could have had earlier notice. Your letter is dated the 20th instant, and was not received till the 22d; and, considering the distance of some of the witnesses, we fear it will not be possible to give them notice, much less to procure their attendance, and we presume no *ex parte* testimony ought to be received by the Court. Our view of the matter was, and it was so considered by the Joint Committees, that we should transmit the papers to your Excellency, and inform you of the names of the witnesses to prove the several points; that then your Excellency, by your own authority, or that of Congress, would have procured the attendance of the witnesses. Two officers of Congress, not in any respect under our control, are material witnesses, of which we informed Congress, requesting they might not proceed to Carolina till their testimony could be had. No notice was taken of it, and they set off about a week ago, and, as we have reason to think,

with a view to be absent till the trial is over. Colonel Fitzgerald, who is also a material witness, we suppose is in Virginia.

As substantial justice, not a mere formality, is undoubtedly your Excellency's object on this occasion, we submit to your judgment whether a competent time for the attendance of those witnesses, at least, who are within reach, and the adjustment of some previous points, will not make a further delay necessary. These points are, at whose expense and by whose procurement are the witnesses to be had; and whether the service will not admit of the sitting of the Court at some nearer point than camp. If that cannot be, we must rely upon your Excellency to give further directions for the accommodation of the persons who may attend in behalf of the prosecution. As the idea expressed in your Excellency's letter does not correspond with the resolve of Congress transmitted to us, and differs from that entertained by the Joint Committee of Congress, Council, and Assembly, in which it was expressly declared that this Board was not to be considered as a party, we trust the proceedings in this business will conform to this idea; otherwise, besides the inconvenience above mentioned, we shall be liable to a charge of inconsistency not well founded. We are, Sir, with every sentiment of respect and regard,

Your most obedient, humble servants,

JOSEPH REED.

P. S. By the time this will reach your Excellency, there will remain but three days, so that we shall be glad to have as early an answer as possible; for we beg leave to assure you, that no other delay is sought but what is necessary to proceed to business with effect.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Philadelphia, 26 April, 1779.

SIR,

Your Excellency's favor of the 24th I had the honor of receiving last evening. I dined yesterday with the Minister of France, and find him still determined to set out for camp to-morrow. He sets out at seven in the morning, and intends lodging at Trenton. On Wednesday, he will be in camp, if no accident attends him; but at what hour, cannot be ascertained, as the place he dines at is not yet determined on. I intend to wait upon him some time this morning, and learn more particularly his stages. Don Juan accompanies him.

I thank your Excellency for your generous and obliging offer. Most certain, my inclination leads me to a resignation.\* My reputation I value more than any advantages of gain; and I consider it in great danger. I wrote your Excellency lengthly upon this subject yesterday, and therefore shall say but little upon it to-day. I intend to write to Congress to-day, upon the subject of my apprehensions and determination; and, if they do not give me those kinds of assurances, which are necessary to guard my reputation from malice and detraction, I shall insist upon leaving the business. The politics of Congress are really alarming, and the state of the finances astonishing; where they will end, time only can unfold.

Mr. Holker made many inquiries yesterday, respecting the temper and disposition of our army. He seemed desirous to know, whether peace, upon a plan

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\* Resignation of the office of Quartermaster-General.

of independence agreeable to the state of the alliance, would be satisfactory; the fishery to be confined to the limits of the States. This would well-nigh ruin the Eastern States. Upon the whole, I think there have been some overtures made upon the subject of peace. It is said Russia on the part of England, and Spain on the part of France, are to stand mediators. This is merely conjectural. Mr. Jay says the Congress have no official propositions of peace; but I believe it is beyond a doubt there have been debates upon the subject for several days past, particularly with regard to the fishery.

I spent last evening with Governor Reed. I took occasion to hint that General Sullivan was to command the western expedition. He took the alarm at once, and insisted he had no hopes of success, if he was to direct the operations. So deep are the prejudices of human nature. I had several hours' conversation with him; and, I believe, satisfied him, as far as is possible, that the appointment was the result of the maturest deliberation. We were in private.

If I leave the Quarter-master's department, I should be glad of the South Carolina appointment. However, I shall wish to consult your Excellency upon the affair.

We have an agreeable piece of intelligence from the eastward; which is, that Colonel Campbell and thirty or forty officers, and six or eight sail of transports, bound to Europe, were taken lately, by a couple of our frigates, and carried into Boston.

I had letters, last night, from South Carolina, which indicate a great disgust between the State and the Congress. They think themselves neglected. There is a large number of public vessels now on

pay in the harbour, loaded with rice, which want to sail; but the State is so much soured, that they will not grant exclusive privileges to the Continental vessels from the embargo. The express is waiting; I can only add, that I am, with esteem and affection.

Your Excellency's obedient servant,

NATHANAEL GREENE.

FROM GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

Philadelphia, 26 April, 1779.

DEAR GENERAL,

You must permit me most heartily to congratulate you upon the very important intelligence which Monsieur Gerard will confidentially communicate to you. It is, and ought to be, a secret even from Congress, for which I need give you no reasons, as you are but too well acquainted with them. Measures have already been taken for obtaining the necessary supplies, which the Minister will detail to you. These you will undoubtedly assist, as far as may fall within your line.

When the enemy went to the Southern States, I considered it as a kind of madness, and I think they will feel the consequences; but certainly it cannot be worth while to lose a moment unnecessarily in that quarter, for the climate will fight for us during the summer, and what shall remain may be completed in the autumn, if the other objects succeed. The first then should be, to bring on a considerable quantity of rice, which, together with flour from the Middle States, must be transmitted eastward, for the ulterior operations. To accomplish New York, perhaps the western detachments may be useful, as a feint; but

will it not be still more effectual to risk almost a retreat, in case of attack, by detaching to Albany, as if in prosecution of an expedition to Canada, calling upon Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey, for a body of militia, to answer the immediate purpose of protecting the country, and the remote purpose of more consequence? This would probably lull the enemy into security, and false intelligence might be superadded to deceive them. In a few days the force, nevertheless, would be collected from Fort Edward and the Mohawk River to Albany, brought down to the Highlands by water, and coöperate, &c. A part, with the militia of Connecticut and New York, might alarm the enemy at Fort Knyphausen, and make the necessary preparations to throw a bridge over the river at Haerlem. The main body, by possessing themselves of the landing opposite to Greenwich, might, at a proper opportunity, be thrown across. The Jersey militia would keep Staten Island in alarm, and secure the posts in the rear. The other troops might be landed to attack, as the enemy landed to attack you. This, with a fire upon the town, would, in all human probability, effect the purpose.

That point gained, Rhode Island would be an easy acquisition, as the whole force might then be turned to that object, and then the great end would follow in its course. The magnitude and importance of things like these speak for themselves. The practicability will, I think, be made evident, when the means are considered. You will see the necessity of opening yourself fully to M. Gerard upon your designs, and taking, with him, all proper measures. Cattle, carriages for heavy artillery, and the like, should be assembled at Portsmouth, or some such convenient place. You will have the advantage, on this occasion

at least, to be sure of your secrets; and, indeed, such steps may be taken, that, in the ignorance of the enemy as to the state and probable state of things in the West Indies, it will be impossible for them to develop the combination of incidents, so distinct as those which may be necessary at once to fulfil the objects in view, and blind them.

Excuse the length and tediousness of this letter, and believe me, with all the sincerity of private friendship, superadded to public esteem, affectionately,

Your friend and humble servant,

GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, 26 April, 1779.

DEAR SIR,

The questions contained in your favor of the 23d instant, are as important as the manner of introducing them is delicate. While the maritime affairs of the Continent continue under the direction of a Committee, they will be exposed to all the consequences of want of system, attention, and knowledge. The Marine Committee consists of a Delegate from each State. It fluctuates, new members constantly coming in, and old ones going out. Three or four, indeed, have remained in it from the beginning, and have a proportionate influence, or, more properly, *interest* in it. Very few of the members understand even the state of our naval affairs, or have time or inclination to attend to them. But why is not this system changed? It is, in my opinion, convenient to the family compact. The Commercial Committee are equally useless. A proposition was made to appoint a Com-



mercial Agent for the States, under certain regulations. Opposition was made; the ostensible reasons were various; the true reason was, its interference with a certain commercial agent in Europe, and his connections.

You will, if I mistake not, find M. Gerard disposed to be open and communicative. He has acquired an extensive knowledge of our affairs. I have no reason to believe he will use it to our prejudice. There is as much intrigue in this State House as in the Vatican, but as little secrecy as in a boarding-school. It mortifies me, on this occasion, to reflect, that the rules of Congress on the subject of secrecy, which are far too general, and, perhaps for that reason, more frequently violated, restrain me from saying twenty things to you, which have ceased to be private.

The state of our currency is really serious. Where, or by what means, the progress of its depreciation will be prevented, is uncertain. The subject is delicate, but the conduct of some men really indicates at least great indifference about it. It will not be many days before measures, having a great though not immediate influence on this subject, will be either adopted or rejected. I shall then have an opportunity of being more particular. I am, very dear Sir, with perfect esteem and regard,

Your most obedient servant,

JOHN JAY.

FROM BRIGADIER-GENERAL MCINTOSH.

Camp [Pittsburg], 27 April, 1779.

SIR,

In obedience to your Excellency's desire, I am to

inform you of the situation of the several posts west of the mountains, and will add the reasons for establishing them, which may enable you to judge the better of their propriety.

When I went there first, I found Fort Pitt, in the fork of Ohio, Fort Randolph, at the point or mouth of Great Kenhawa, three hundred miles down the river Ohio, and Fort Hand on Kiskiminitas, fixed stations, and garrisoned by Continental troops; and they are still kept up, as there is an independent company, raised upon the application of Colonel G. Morgan, for the sole purpose of maintaining each, and would not weaken the force I had to carry on the expedition. Besides these, there were thirty or forty other little stations, or forts, at different times garrisoned by militia, between Wheeling and Pittsburg, upon the waters of the Monongahela, the Kiskiminitas, and in the interior parts of the settlements, which were frequently altered, kept, or evacuated, according to the humors, fears, or interest of the people of most influence, which General Hand was obliged to comply with, as his chief dependence was upon militia. Those I endeavoured to break up, as soon as I could, without giving too much offence to people whose assistance I so much required, as they were very expensive, and of little service; and, for that end, authorized the Lieutenants of Monongahela and Ohio county, to raise a ranging company, jointly, of one Captain, one Lieutenant, one Ensign, three Sergeants, three Corporals, and fifty-four privates, to scout continually along the River Ohio, from Beaver Creek downwards, where the Indians usually cross to annoy these two counties, and would secure them equally alike; and the Lieutenant of Westmoreland county to raise two such companies to scour their

frontiers, and protect them from sallying parties of the Mingoos or Northern Indians, which would render their little forts useless, and keep our regulars entire for other occasions.

I found also, upon inquiry, a number of stores, or magazines of provisions, built at public expense by our Purchasing Commissary, at great distances, difficult of access, and scattered throughout all the counties, which required a number of men at each, for commissaries, coopers, packers, guards, &c. These I also discharged; gave the stores up; as, by the report of a Court of Inquiry, all the provision in them, which was intended for our expedition, proved to be spoiled, and altogether useless, through neglect; and, in place of them, I had one general storehouse built, by a fatigue party, in the fork of the Monongahela River, where all loads from over the mountains are now discharged, without crossing any considerable branch of any river, and can be carried from thence, at any season, either by land or water, to Big Beaver Creek; to which place I opened a road, and built a strong post, with barracks and stores, by fatigue of the whole line, upon the Indian shore of the Ohio River, for the reception of all our stores, clear of all ferries and incumbrances, while our troops and supplies were coming up; and, in case I was disappointed in both, as I had many reasons to apprehend, it would secure a footing so far advanced into the enemy's country, be better prepared for another attempt, and show them we were in earnest.

So late as the 3d of November, Mr. Lockhart appeared at Beaver, with the cattle, extremely poor after driving them four or five hundred miles, and meeting with many obstacles, and could not slaughter them for want of salt. The same day I received a

message from the savages, reproaching our tardiness, and threatening all their nations would join to oppose my progress to Detroit, at Sugar Creek, a few miles below Tuscarawas, where they intend giving me battle. Immediately upon this intelligence, I ordered twelve hundred men to be ready to march, though we had only four weeks' flour, which Mr. Lockhart fortunately brought with him, and left Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, with the rest of the troops, at Beaver, to escort and send after me the long-looked for supplies, so often and repeatedly promised by our Deputy Quartermaster-General, Mr. Steel, when they arrived, and, in the mean time, to finish the fort and stores.

We were fourteen days upon our march, about seventy miles, to Tuscarawas, as our horses and cattle tired every four or five miles from our first setting out, and were met there only by some Cochocking Delawares and Moravians, who informed me the Chippewas and Ottawas refused to join the other Indians, upon which their hearts failed them, and none came to oppose our march. But, unfortunately, a letter, by express, from Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, a little afterwards, informed me that no supplies came yet, and we had very little to expect during the winter, nor could he get the staff to account, or give any reasons for their neglect and deficiencies, which disappointed all my flattering prospects and schemes, and left me no other alternative than either to march back as I came, without effecting any valuable purpose, which the world would justly reflect upon me for, after so much expense, confirm the savages in the opinion the enemy inculcates of our weakness, and unite all of them, to a man, against us; or, to build a strong stockade fort upon the Muskingum,

and leave as many men as our provision would allow, to secure it until the next season, and to serve as a bridle upon the savages in the heart of their own country: which last I chose, with the unanimous approbation of my principal officers, and we were employed upon it while our provision lasted: and, in the mean time, thought it necessary to make some proposals to all the Indians, if they came in a certain fixed time, to offer terms, and prevent our being molested.

I am the more particular in giving my reasons for building Fort Laurens, as Morgan, Steel, and their dependents, for want of other matter, have cried it down, as a designed slaughtering-pen, impossible to maintain; and endeavoured to prejudice the whole country against it, although the former laid the plan, that was afterwards adopted, for taking and keeping Detroit.

I always was, and still am, firmly of the opinion, that the only way to subdue Indians effectually, is, to carry a chain of forts directly into their country, so near as to support each other, the last always having the most force, and keep possession as we go; and to make excursions at pleasure into their towns, when in force, and opportunity offers, or retreat to them when weak, ill-supplied, or in other cases of necessity, which will often happen in Indian wars, and they know well how to take advantage of.

By the best information I can get, there is no navigation above the Wabash (which is eight or nine hundred miles below Pittsburg) to Lake Erie, equal to Muskingum, the way of Cuyahoga, or, the Alleghany, the way of Presque Isle; and both of these are very uncertain, to go up against the stream, as the waters are often too high and rapid, and oftener too low. Yet they may be serviceable at times. The

Scioto and Hockhocking are mere rapid creeks, of no account, and are not much better than Beaver, although traders have frequently brought their loaded canoes down each, in time of high freshets.

For any further particulars, respecting the western department, I will attend in person, and beg leave to refer you to my general orders, and private instructions and letters. I have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,  
LACHLAN McINTOSH.

P. S. If your Excellency is already determined to attack the Seneca nation from the westward as well as from the Susquehanna, at the same time, I would give it as my humble opinion, that the two garrisons on the Indian side of the Ohio should be maintained, and go no farther that way at present; and to erect posts, at proper distances, up along the River Alleghany, as far as, or farther than Kushkushing, which may be done by fatigue, when the party is going up, if the river is then too low, or, if it is in good order for the boats, after they strike the blow intended, in concert with the other army. And I should apprehend the same would be necessary up the Susquehanna, as far as Tioga, which, I think, must undoubtedly remove the northern as well as the western tribes over the great Lakes, or bring them to terms, as they cannot otherwise think of planting so near our garrisons; and show them we mean to retaliate their injuries by keeping possession of their country.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL ARNOLD.

Philadelphia, 5 May, 1779.

DEAR GENERAL.

I have been honored with your Excellency's two letters of the 26th and 28th April, and am extremely sorry to find it should be thought there was a necessity of postponing my trial to so late a period as June or July, from no other reason than the President and Council of this State representing that the period appointed for the purpose, and the previous notice given, were too short to admit of the necessary evidence being produced in time.

Their pretence of the witnesses being in Virginia and Carolina, and the time being too short to produce them, I can view in no other light than a base, pitiful evasion; evidently calculated to put off the trial, that my character, unjustly aspersed, may still suffer, while the villains who have injured me cowardly cloak themselves under office. They have had three months to look for evidence, and cannot produce one against me. I suppose the gentlemen they mention being in Carolina are my two Aids, gone there, as volunteers, to spend the summer. They left this city long since the Court-Martial was ordered, and might easily have been detained, had the Council thought proper to do it.

Believe me, my dear General, the whole is nothing more than pretence and artifice to delay the matter, the final determination of which must make the President and Council appear to the world in their true colors, as a set of unprincipled, malicious scoundrels; who have prostituted their honor and truth, for the purpose of gratifying their private resentment against an innocent person.



From a candid view of the charges and whole proceedings against me, contained in the papers transmitted to your Excellency, you must be fully persuaded I have been unjustly accused, and that I have been refused justice from Congress on the report of their Committee.

From a knowledge of my public conduct, since I have been in the army, no man is a better judge if I have merited the treatment I have received. If your Excellency thinks me criminal, for Heaven's sake let me be immediately tried, and, if found guilty, executed. I want no favor; I ask only for justice. If it is denied me from your Excellency, I have nowhere to seek it but of the candid public, before whom I shall be under the necessity of laying the whole matter. Let me beg of you, Sir, to consider that a set of artful, unprincipled men, in office, may misinterpret the most innocent actions; and, by raising the public clamor against your Excellency, place you in the same disagreeable situation I am in.

Having made every sacrifice of fortune and blood, and become a cripple in the service of my country, I little expected to meet the ungrateful returns I have received of my countrymen; but, as Congress have stamped ingratitude as a current coin, I must take it. I wish your Excellency, for your long and eminent services, may not be paid in the same coin.

I have nothing left but the little reputation I have gained in the army. Delay, in the present case, is worse than death; and, when it is considered that the President and Council have had three months to produce their evidence, I cannot suppose the ordering a Court-Martial to determine the matter immediately, in the least precipitating the matter, which, in justice, ought to have been determined long since, and which

the President and Council wish to put off until the campaign opens; concluding, undoubtedly, that the service will then prevent the Court from sitting, the trial postponed until the end of the campaign, and their cruel and villanous purposes answered. I must, therefore, entreat your Excellency that a Court-Martial may be ordered to sit as soon as possible; and, if the Court find sufficient reasons, they will of course adjourn to a longer time. Not doubting my request will be granted, I have the honor to be, with the highest respect and esteem, your Excellency's

Most obedient, humble servant,

BENEDICT ARNOLD.\*

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\* Many other particulars respecting Arnold's trial by a Court-Martial, the charges brought against him, and a correspondence between General Washington and the Council of Pennsylvania on the subject, may be seen in Washington's Writings, Vol. VI, APPENDIX, pp. 511-539.

Some time before the date of this letter, General Arnold seems to have entertained the project of forming a settlement in the western parts of the State of New York. On the 3d of February, 1779, Mr. Jay, and the other Delegates in Congress from that State, wrote as follows to Governor Clinton.

"Major-General Arnold has in contemplation to establish a settlement of officers and soldiers who have served with him in the present war, and to lay the necessary foundation without loss of time. From a desire to become a citizen of New York, he gives our State the preference, and now visits your Excellency to make the necessary inquiries, it being out of our power to give him any information. The necessity of strengthening our frontiers is as obvious as the policy of drawing the attention of the people to that quarter in season. Virginia, we learn, has taken the lead, and already passed laws for laying out a district of country for settlement, and assigning farms for their own soldiers, as well as those of Maryland, Delaware, and New Jersey. A strong predilection, however, prevails in favor of our State, on account of its situation for trade, the acknowledged excellency of its Constitution, and the steady and vigorous exertions of its Government. Nothing, we are persuaded, will be wanting for its rapid settlement and cultivation, but a wise and liberal system for the distribution of the public lands.

"To you, Sir, or to our State, General Arnold can require no recommendation. A series of distinguished services entitle him to respect and favor."

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL PUTNAM.

Camp, Reading, 7 May, 1779.

DEAR SIR,

I am now taking the earliest opportunity to acquaint your Excellency with my arrival in camp, to resume the command of my division.

In the course of my tour to the eastward, I was at Hartford, during the sitting of the Assembly, who supposed, from a resolution of Congress which then lay before them, that all the men raised for the public service in this State, under whatever description, whether artillery, dragoons, or artificers, were to be considered and credited as part of the eight battalions of infantry, which were assigned as a quota to this State for the year 1779.

This sentiment I opposed, at the time that the return of the number wanting to complete the eight battalions to the present establishment was laid before them. However, instead of raising fourteen hundred men, the deficiency of the two brigades under my command, they have made such deductions as leave, by their calculation, but six hundred men to be raised, and these are to be procured by voluntary enlistment. In consequence of this resolution, very few recruits, I fear, will be brought into the field, unless your Excellency should think proper to make some representations upon the subject to the Assembly, who will sit the next week at Hartford; and this, I presume, will be of more efficacy than any other means whatever.

From the letters which passed in my absence, and which I have seen since my return, I find there was reason to apprehend the enemy would have been in

motion before this time, and that, upon these appearances, it was judged necessary for all the troops which were under my command to march for the defence of the posts on the North River, except the first Connecticut brigade, which is now held in readiness for that purpose.

Although I do not in the least doubt the necessity and propriety of these measures, or wish to be informed of the secrets of the ensuing campaign, yet it is exceedingly natural for me to have some little curiosity about my future destination; whether I am to command those troops which have been with me the winter past, or in some new department, or whether I am to remain to guard the huts at this place. For after General McDougall is reinforced with the whole of my division (which will augment his to a very respectable command), nothing is said concerning the part which I am to act. However disagreeable the situation may be, I know there is a delicacy in thinking and treating on a subject, where one's self is so intimately concerned, beyond the limits of which, I hope I shall not be accused of passing.

I am unhappy to inform your Excellency that, upon the removal of our detachments from the seacoast, the enemy have exhibited some specimens of enterprise, so little usual for them. A few nights since, a small party from a whaleboat landed at Fairfield, surprised and carried off Brigadier-General Silliman, of the militia, and his son Major Silliman. Last night, another party landed at Middlesex, near Norwalk, in quest of one Captain Selleck, who happened to be absent; but a Mr. Webb, late a Lieutenant in the train, two of the inhabitants, and the ingenious Dr. Bushnell, fell into their hands. As the last-mentioned gentleman, who was there in the

prosecution of his unremitted endeavours to destroy the enemy's shipping, is personally known to very few people, it is possible he may not be discovered by his real name or character, and may be considered of less consequence than he actually is.

I am this instant informed, that about fifty of the enemy's plunderers landed at Telleck's Farms this morning, and carried off every man his sheep, that is to say, fifty, before the militia could be collected to oppose them. These incursions I expect will be frequent and troublesome, but I hope not decisive, or very important. I am your Excellency's

Most obedient and very humble servant,  
ISRAEL PUTNAM.

P. S. I designed to have suggested to your Excellency the difficulties I am apprehensive will arise in procuring forage for the baggage-horses and teams. The grass is by no means sufficient to support them; and dry forage will be furnished with great difficulty, and I fear in very small quantities.

FROM GOVERNOR LIVINGSTON.

Trenton, 8 May, 1779.

DEAR SIR,

I have received the honor of your Excellency's favor of the 4th instant, and am very far from differing with you in sentiment, that the militia of the country should be drawn out by the authority of the Government, rather than by the pecuniary reward attached to their service. This has always been my opinion; and I have used my utmost exertions to get

our militia upon that footing; but it is a thing rather to be wished than expected, as our Legislature have uniformly manifested a disinclination to use compulsion. And when it is considered that the five shillings per day which they have added to the pay of the militia, is not equal to what they have lately done for the standing troops, I flatter myself that it will not be attended with the disagreeable consequences which your Excellency apprehends. The truth is, the militia have, of late, been so extremely backward to come out in the monthly service, that, without some addition to their past allowance, it was universally apprehended that our frontiers would be entirely left to the mercy of the enemy. But, for the reason your Excellency assigns, I wish it had been by way of bounty, instead of augmentation of wages.

The confidence your Excellency is pleased to place in my friendship affects me with inexpressible pleasure. I hope, Sir, you will never have reason to think it misplaced; and your friendship, in return (which, indeed, so bought, is too cheap a purchase), I shall always consider is the greatest felicity of my life. The communication of your sentiments, in the freest manner, upon my public measures, I shall not only esteem an honor done me, as a convincing mark of your confidence, but shall ever endeavour to improve to the public emolument, which I am sure will be the only motive that suggests them.

Please to accept of my acknowledgments for your promise of continuing the troops, or the principal part of them, at their present stations, a few days beyond the period limited in your former letter.

Our political stupor and security, owing to our last year's successful campaign, and a thirst for the mammon of unrighteousness, is truly lamentable; and I

am entirely of your Excellency's opinion, that there is the greatest reason to believe, that a vigorous prosecution of the war is determined on the part of the enemy. The slowness of our progress towards completing our quota of your reinforcements, affects me with unspeakable chagrin. And I can assure your Excellency, that I do not lose a day, without exerting myself to accelerate the motions of some gentlemen, who ought not to wait a prompter to that indispensable measure. With every sentiment of esteem, I have the honor to be, dear Sir,

Your Excellency's most humble servant,  
WILLIAM LIVINGSTON.

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FROM MAJOR-GENERAL LORD STIRLING.

Valley of Lebanon, 10 May, 1779.

DEAR SIR,

As my business with the Legislature of New Jersey will require my being at Trenton on Wednesday next, a visit to camp this week, which I intended, would be inconvenient, as it would keep me constantly on the roads, with horses not in the best order. My being at Trenton last week, I believe, was favorable to the affairs of the Jersey brigade. The officers, under orders of march, sent up a very spirited memorial to the Legislature, and strongly pointed out the mischiefs which would immediately follow, if an equitable provision was not instantly made for the officers and men of the brigade. However true and just, the legislature could not brook the thought of being frightened into the measure; and some of the obstinate members talked of rather seeing the brigade disbanded, than submit to the



appearance of being bullied. As I saw that the appearance was now the chief obstacle in the way, I proposed to some of the leading members the expediency of withdrawing the memorial, and the Legislature taking the matter up (to all appearance) of their own mere motion. This was instantly agreed to on all sides, and in a few hours pretty ample resolves were made by both Houses. Among the rest it was ordered that two hundred pounds be paid to each commissioned officer, and forty dollars to each soldier, to enable them to pay their debts, and to fit them for the campaign. The money for this purpose is already gone to Elizabethtown.

I am sorry to find that the Legislature is slow in all business, particularly in determining on the means of recruiting their brigades, in which, as yet, they have made but little progress; but they promise to give it their serious attention this week. My business seems to have a favorable reception among them; but it must be followed up closely, or it may halt by the way.

Lady Stirling, and all the gentlemen and ladies of these two families, join in their most respectful compliments to your Excellency and Mrs. Washington, with

Your Excellency's affectionate, humble servant,

STIRLING.

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FROM GOVERNOR CLINTON.

Poughkeepsie, 18 May, 1779.

DEAR SIR,

I was honored with your Excellency's confidential letter of the 3d instant on the 12th, at Kingston, whither I was called by an alarm on the frontiers

of Ulster county, occasioned by the appearance of about one hundred Indians and Tories, at Shendeacon, a small settlement in the gorge of the mountains, about twenty miles west of Kingston, and twelve from Marbletown. They were joined at this place by twenty-seven Tories from the east of Hudson's River, mostly Hessian deserters from the Convention troops. The sudden assembling of the militia deterred them from penetrating farther into the country, and prevented them from doing any material injury.

It is needless to remark to your Excellency, that the execution of military business by militia officers is (from the want of activity and knowledge) seldom attended with the necessary despatch. Add to this, the raising of the levies for the defence of the frontiers, and for filling up the Continental battalions, has been unavoidably much interrupted and retarded, in the frontier regiments, by almost continual alarms, since the departure of Colonel Cortlandt's regiment from the former station. I have, therefore, found it necessary to order the levies in this county to rendezvous on the western frontiers of Ulster and Orange counties, to serve as a cover to the settlements, and to afford the militia leisure to make their drafts. The officer who commands them has orders, the moment this is accomplished, to forward such part of them as are to be annexed to the Continental battalions, with such additional number as can be spared, consistent with the security of the frontier settlements in that quarter, to Albany, by detachments, without the least delay. From the best information I have been able to obtain, there is a collection of Indians (consisting of those who are called Esopus Indians and other stragglers) and Tories, at Shohawken and Kollitye, on the Delaware, at one of which places it is said

they have erected a block-house, or some other small works of defence. Our accounts were, that they consisted of upwards of one hundred, and we have the best evidence of their having been lately joined by a very considerable additional number of Tories and deserters. It is this banditti, that have committed the most of the mischiefs which have been done in the counties of Ulster and Orange, and have occasioned all the late distressing alarms. They are supplied with provisions from the different settlements on the Delaware by the disaffected inhabitants who live on the frontiers. They are perfectly acquainted with the back country, and, I am apprehensive, will be very troublesome, by rendering the supplies to our western army precarious, and by keeping the back settlements in perpetual apprehensions of danger.

The amazing tract of uninhabited and mountainous country, which lies between the intended route of our army and the western settlements, will afford them a secure asylum, as long as they can procure provisions. I would therefore submit to your Excellency the propriety of marching a body of men into these parts, sufficiently large to scour that country, and rout the enemy there, and destroy the settlements which feed and harbour them. As these settlements are scattered and remote from each other, and as the enemy may be succoured from the contiguous Indian settlements on the Susquehanna, not less than five hundred men will be competent to perform this business effectually. If the measure is approved by your Excellency, I will most readily furnish that number from the militia for this short service, and undertake to conduct the business myself. Nothing will be wanted, but the means of transporting about ten days' or two weeks' provision.

and some other little matters from the Quarter-master's department, which cannot be obtained otherwise, and which, I presume, may be spared from thence, without inconveniency, for so short a period. The horses wanted may either be impressed in the country by the Quarter-master, or, if purchased, returned before the campaign is fairly opened on the sea-coast.

I am the more desirous of having this business accomplished, as it will relieve the inhabitants of the frontier settlements from any farther apprehensions of danger, and induce many, who have already abandoned their farms, to return to them, and also enable us to spare a greater proportion of the levies, raised for the defence of the frontiers, who are now stationed at the different passes, where they at best afford but a very partial security, for active service. It may be thought most advisable to delay the matter until the army, intended for the western service, begin to move; in which case this may serve as a favorable diversion. The intermediate time may be only sufficient to get out the men and make the necessary preparations. I have the honor to be, with the most perfect respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

GEORGE CLINTON.

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FROM GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

Hartford, 29 May, 1779.

SIR,

I suppose your Excellency is not wholly unacquainted with the character of Mr. David Bushnell, the bearer. He has had a liberal education, and discovers a genius capable of great improvement, in ma-

thematical, philosophic, and mechanical literature. His inventions for annoying the enemy's shipping are new and ingenious, and, I trust, founded on such principles as would insure success. The vigilance practised in guarding the shipping has, I suppose, been the only means of preventing such execution as would have been attended with very alarming and beneficial consequences. He has, with persevering and indefatigable industry, pursued the object with very little prospect of any other reward than that of serving his country.

Misfortune and accident have prevented the execution of this design; but there is reason to believe the explosion of one of his machines, taken on board one of the enemy's ships some time since, has greatly alarmed their marine, and made them very cautious in their approaches to any of the neighbouring shores.

It is a pity that so promising a genius should not be encouraged. I understand an establishment of miners and sappers is forming under your Excellency's direction, and would therefore take the liberty to propose to your Excellency, whether a person of his particular genius might not be very useful in that department.

If you should not have filled, and cannot probably fill, the offices with gentlemen of greater merit and genius, permit me to recommend Mr. Bushnell to the office of Captain in that service, which, from his abilities, genius, and integrity, I should judge him capable to execute with honor and advantage. The Council of this State, now convened, join with me in this recommendation. I am, with very high respect and esteem, your Excellency's

Most obedient and very humble servant,

JONATHAN TRUMBULL.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

Pompton, 7 o'clock A. M., 3 June, 1779.

SIR,

Colonel Burr arrived here about three o'clock, from General McDougall, and brings intelligence of the surrender of the Fort upon Verplank's Point, yesterday, about eleven o'clock, by capitulation. The garrison are prisoners of war, and the officers have liberty to wear their side-arms.

I have no letter from General McDougall; but he is clearly of opinion the enemy mean to attack the posts (at least Fort Arnold, the carrying of which would open to them the navigation of the river) in the Highlands. Colonel Burr informs me, that, by landing near where Fort Montgomery stood, and marching to the Forest of Dean, they would fall into a clove, which runs entirely round that ridge on which the forts are situated, and through which a road might be made almost as fast as an army could march. By this clove General McDougall thinks the forts will be invested. Betwixt this clove and Smith's is a chain of hideous mountains, but through them are, no doubt, many passes, with which they may be made acquainted by the inhabitants whom they have debauched, and would thereby be able to give much annoyance to any convoys that might pass by Smith's, supposing it necessary to make use of that road.

It seems to be General McDougall's wish that I should move to New Windsor, and he thinks that the occupying Butter Hill might prevent the attack upon Fort Arnold from the upper side. At the same time the state of the provision is very alarming. Not

much above three weeks' in the respective forts, and the militia called in; and their principal dependence for further supplies is upon their being transported across the country, from Sussex or Delaware.

I think I could easily reach New Windsor, or at least be so far advanced, through the clove, as to be out of all danger of being intercepted. But it is necessary first to have intelligence from the river, lest the parts of your army on this side of it should be too much separated, and exposed to be beaten by piecemeal. This I will endeavour to procure, and act according to circumstances, of which I will take care to give your Excellency notice. Notwithstanding the general opinion, that the forts are the enemy's object, Colonel Burr mentions circumstances that leave it still doubtful. Their troops are landed at various places on the east side of the river, and at Havestrav on the west; and, after the surrender of the fort, their largest armed vessel, supposed to be of eighteen guns, and a galley, which had passed before, were seen towing down again.

As the passage through the clove is somewhat dangerous for single persons, I shall send two horsemen back with Colonel Burr, and shall, through him, communicate to General McDougall verbally. It may, perhaps, be necessary to form a march through the clove, in which case, I shall leave my baggage at this place, to be forwarded afterwards, as your Excellency may think proper.

Our provision wagons will not be able to supply us, when at a greater distance, four only being allowed to each brigade, and three of these broke down upon the road. I am, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,  
ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.



FROM MAJOR-GENERAL McDUGALL.

Budd's, in the Highlands, opposite to  
West Point, 4 June, 1779.

SIR,

The enemy having, as I have informed your Excellency, landed at Teller's Point, on the 31st ultimo, the troops under my command took a position in the Highlands, with their van at the Village. The principal stores being removed from thence, and the enemy having my flanks open on the North River, on which he could move undiscovered at night, I judged it expedient to retire to this place, to keep open my communication with West Point, as well as to secure the pass in my rear to Fishkill. General Parsons joined me the 2d instant. I have now here the three Continental brigades, and a good body of militia.

The State has made a very great exertion to remove the stores and collect provision. We have double the quantity of provision secured which you mentioned necessary in your letter of the 2d, for a certain purpose. Yesterday I informed you of the enemy's advancing near the Continental Village. He retired in the afternoon toward Peekskill. His conduct is exceedingly inexplicable; and it is extremely difficult to determine what is his object. He has now been seven days on the river, and has not made the despatch which he might, toward West Point, if that is his object. One thing, however, is very clear, that he can pillage the country, by drawing our attention to the fort, without any risk, and can always embark. Perhaps these movements may be designed to divert us from our western expeditions.

General Patterson not having returned from fur-

burgh, I appointed General Parsons to command at West Point, as he is well acquainted with the post.

Yesterday Lieutenant-Colonel Sherman, with three companies of light infantry, marched downwards to reconnoitre, and skirmish with the enemy. He proceeded to Fort Independence, at the mouth of Peekskill Creek, but saw nothing of the enemy, although his small parties went near Peekskill; only heard the noise of cattle, driving towards King's Ferry. This morning he discovered all their shipping (except two galleys) in Peekskill Bay, standing downward, and a few boats off Fort Independence.

Sir Henry Clinton commanded in person the body which I told you were advancing yesterday. He was exceedingly cautious in his advance, and very particular in his inquiries. He asked where I was; whether I had destroyed the bridge\* over Peekskill Creek; what force I had; whether the militia were alarmed; the situation of the country toward Fishkill, if strong; whether there was a great body of men at West Point; and whether your Excellency's army was in motion this way.

Colonel Burr, whom I sent to General St. Clair, returned this morning. The General told him he would be at New Windsor this night. Provisions were sent from Newburg to Chester for his troops, which has removed the difficulty he apprehended.

By comparing these accounts, it appears the enemy has given over his design against West Point. Fort de Lafayette, on Verplank's Point, surrendered the 1st instant. The inclosed is a copy of a letter of Captain Armstrong, who commanded it; and the terms of capitulation.

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\* This bridge was carried away by a freshet.

It is now past two o'clock, P. M., and I have no account of the enemy's moving up. I have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,  
ALEXANDER McDUGALL.

FROM COLONEL WILLIAM MALCOM.

On the road leading from Fort Montgomery  
towards the Furnace, 11 o'clock, A. M., 5 June, 1779.

SIR,

I have this moment seen Captain Christie, who has communicated his business, and I am thereby induced to send a gentleman, Captain Hughes, a volunteer, on to your Excellency with information. The enemy's fleet, consisting of about seventy sail, many of them very small, are at King's Ferry; a body of their troops are on the east side of the river, extending from the ferry upwards; a very few on Stony Point; but the greatest part of their army are on board. They have one hundred and fifty flat-bottomed boats with them, which are in Peekskill Cove.

It is true that they have penetrated as far as the Village, and have burnt a few huts, &c.; but have got no stores at all, nor have we sustained any loss, but the block-house at the ferry, with eighty men. &c., of which, in my opinion, nothing else could be expected.

I command the militia of this State, on the west side of the river, and am posted on the cross-road, leading from Fort Montgomery (seven miles advanced from the garrison) to the Furnace, with parties advanced on the passes from Haverstraw, and scouts as far as that place.

Your Excellency may be assured that every thing in my power shall be done for the defence of the garrison. If a few companies of light infantry could be sent me, it would be useful; if so, they must turn off near Junes's, in the clove.

If your Excellency should want any further intelligence, I shall be happy to furnish it, and render every service in my power. General McDougall, with Huntington's and Parsons's brigades, is nine miles below Fishkill; Nixon's, opposite the fort. The Governor is in the field, with the militia on the east side of the river, also with General McDougall. General Parsons took command of Fort Clinton, on the 3d instant, in the evening. The garrison consists of Learned's, Patterson's, and the Carolina brigade, about seventeen hundred strong; the militia with me, as yet, about six hundred.

If the fort is invested, it will fall. I am clear that the enemy must be opposed in the passes and in the woods. I therefore have posted myself here; but without more light troops, not a great deal can be expected.

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

WILLIAM MALCOM.

P. S. I am now of opinion that the enemy will give up their design against the fort. A few days ago I thought it in danger; but I am persuaded, a body of troops posted where I am, at all events, would answer valuable purposes. The baggage of the army, perhaps, will go by Windsor; but it is perfectly safe, and shorter, to cross the troops at the fort.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL ARMSTRONG.\*

Philadelphia, 5 June, 1779.

DEAR GENERAL,

I am for some time possessed of your Excellency's favor of the 18th ultimo, and perfectly convinced of the truth and importance of the contents, but have, and shall, punctually observe that degree of reserve, which is equally just as it can be agreeable to your wishes.

You are not mistaken when, on a late amplification of certain powers, you imagine Congress *had an eye to something particular, or out of the common road.*

The fact was this;—that we were taught to believe the return of the Count d'Estaing to our coasts before this time, and that, by the assistance of his fleet, you will not be surprised that flattering and new manœuvres should be formed in embryo, and the event of his coming be followed with hostile attacks on the enemy at New York and Rhode Island. Those sanguine ideas so far operated on the minds of some gentlemen, as led them to move, that your Excellency should be directed to recall General Sullivan, &c.; but these motions were so far overruled, as to leave you to the exercise of your own judgment, on the campaign at large. But upon what ground we were amused with the coming of the Count, and these hopes have so early died away, are matters that to me require some farther explanation.

The business of finance, although not yet finished according to the system proposed, has, nevertheless,

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\* An officer of the Pennsylvania militia, and now a Delegate in Congress, from that State; distinguished for his military services on the frontiers in the previous war. For some time he was a Brigadier-General in the Continental service, which office he resigned in April, 1777.

passed sundry stages apparently proper, and from which I expect, at least, a sudden period to the depreciation of our money. Indeed, the mere expectations of the populace, although our resolutions have not yet appeared, joined to the efforts of the sundry Committees in this State, have not only prevented a farther depreciation, but have actually lessened the price of several of the more necessary articles of life.

Foreign affairs continue to perplex and procrastinate. Who shall be the great men over the water; and whether a common right in the fishery shall, like other claims of *right and convenience*, be made an ultimatum, in case Great Britain should offer to concede our independence; or whether the fishery, at least for the present, shall be left to the effect of our Minister's negotiation,—are subjects of tedious and disagreeable debate. It may be feared these points are blended,—the business itself, and who shall transact it. Whoever wishes to be the Minister, may wish the latitude of negotiation. Others apprehend the risk might be too great in the hands of a Minister. However this important matter may be, many things, unjust and impolitic, have been said and propagated about it (I mean the fishery), by making unnecessary obstacles about it, giving it an undue and unnatural weight in the business of peace, as though itself should be the only *sine quâ non* of Great Britain. And, if left on the easy footing of negotiation, at least oblique insinuations have been held up to the people, that we might have our independence conceded us whenever we please, and might have had peace before now; and thus have the true grounds of the debate been much shaded by a parcel of false hypotheses and delusive stuff.

It is also true, that several gentlemen, far removed

from any expectation or wish to go to Europe, think the fishery ought to be left to the best terms the Minister can make about it; being of opinion, that it is not essential to the well-being of these States; that the Eastern States only, or more principally, must be gainers by it, viewing it as the only hinge upon which peace or war must turn. In this light, I confess, I am neither willing or able to conceive it, believing that the real springs of peace or war must arise from sources considerably different from that of the fishery.

The army is also a topic of great consideration; I mean its smallness and dissatisfaction. Glad would I have been to have it taken up in a series or chain long ago; but our unpardonable, or at least unaccountable delays on other business, have prevented that design, which, I am persuaded, if not early attended to, must undo our cause. The business of half-pay for life, of which I have been fond, as the best compound of justice and gratuity to our soldiery, I find, will meet with more opposition in Congress than I had imagined. Many declaim against the policy of that measure, but say they are ready to agree to something tantamount, by reducing the necessaries of life to a moderate price, and making the pay good from the beginning, as though there had been no depreciation. Which of these modes Congress ought to adopt, I am at a loss to know; but would gladly urge the best.

By a letter of the 6th instant, from Captain Kearsley, I am pleased to find he is returned to the service, and gone up the Susquehanna to join the troops with General Sullivan.

Kearsley I take to be one of those officers, who will do his duty from principle, and make no doubt



a line from your Excellency will at once please and fix him.

Our reputed success on the 11th of May, near Charleston, becomes more and more doubtful, and may probably turn out to be only a change of route or manœuvre, upon which Pulaski has charged and somewhat harassed their rear. Yet may we have some good news from General Lincoln, although the enemy's position, said to be in an island, must render his access difficult. The enemy's acquisitions of places on the North River are very interesting, and must call the attention of the States to strengthen the army, of which I am afraid little to the purpose can be done before the winter. With perfect respect, I have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's affectionate, humble servant,

JOHN ARMSTRONG.

29th. I have just seen an intelligent young gentleman, who left Dublin on the 1st of March last; who informs us that only about fifteen hundred troops were sent, he thinks, to Jamaica; that Britain cannot soon send any considerable force to America, as no preparation of that sort was made when he left Ireland, but the prevailing opinion rather, that no more troops would be sent to the Continent of America this season; that a great majority of the Irish were in love with the American cause, and much opposed to the late speeches of the King; that the public orders for fasts and prayers for his Majesty's arms, were highly contemned by the first gentlemen in town and country, as farcical and hypocritical.

FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON, GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA.

Williamsburg, 23 June, 1779.

SIR,

I have the pleasure to inclose you the particulars of Colonel Clark's success against St. Vincent's, as stated in his letter but lately received; the messenger, with his first letter, having been killed. I fear it will be impossible for Colonel Clark to be so strengthened as to enable him to do what he desires. Indeed, the express who brought this letter gives us reason to fear St. Vincent's is in danger from a large body of Indians, collected to attack it, and said, when he came from Kaskaskia, to be within thirty leagues of the place.

I also inclose you a letter from Colonel Shelby, stating the effect of his success against the seceding Cherokees and Chuccamoggas. The damage done them was, killing half a dozen, burning eleven towns, and twenty thousand bushels of corn, collected probably to forward the expeditions which were to have been planned at the Council, which was to meet Governor Hamilton at the mouth of the Tennessee, and taking as many goods as sold for twenty-five thousand pounds.

I hope these two blows, coming together, and the depriving them of their head, will, in some measure, effect the quiet of our frontiers this summer. We have intelligence, also, that Colonel Bowman, from Kentucky, is in the midst of the Shawanee country, with three hundred men; and hope to hear a good account of him. The inclosed order, being in its nature important, and generally interesting, I think it proper to transmit it to you, with the reasons supporting it. It will add much to our satisfaction, to

know it meets your approbation. I have the honor to be, with every sentiment of private respect and public gratitude, Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

P. S. The distance of our northern and western counties from the scene of southern service, and the necessity of strengthening our western quarter, have induced the Council to direct the new levies from the counties of Younghogania, Ohio, Monongalia, Frederick, Hampshire, Berkley, Rockingham, and Greenbrier, amounting to somewhat less than three hundred men, to enter into the ninth regiment at Pittsburg. The aid they may give there will be so immediate and important, and what they could do to the southward would be so late, as, I hope, will apologize for their interference.

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FROM BRIGADIER-GENERAL PARSONS.

Wilson, 11 July, 1779.

DEAR GENERAL,

In my last I informed that the enemy landed last night. At four this morning, the enemy, on their advance, were met by the militia, and some skirmishing ensued, but without any considerable effect on either side. At about six o'clock, the troops under General Wolcott and my small detachment of one hundred and fifty Continental troops were joined, and took possession of an eminence at the north end of the town. The enemy advanced in our front, and on our left flank, until about nine o'clock, when they were checked in their progress by the vigorous exertions

of the parties of militia and Continental troops sent out to oppose them; and, in turn, were compelled to retire from hill to hill, at some times in great disorder. We continued to advance upon them until near eleven o'clock, when, a column having nearly gained our right flank, the militia in the centre gave way, and retreated in disorder. This gave the enemy possession of our ground.

General Wolcott, who commanded, exerted himself, on this occasion, to rally the troops, and bring them to order again, but without effect, until they had retired about two miles, when some troops, being again formed, returned to the aid of the right and left wings, who had retired but a small distance and in order. With these the enemy were pursued again, and retreated with precipitation to their ships. I have the pleasure to assure your Excellency the Continental troops, without exception, they being all engaged, behaved with the greatest bravery. Captain Betts, who was the first engaged with the enemy, and who continued longest in action, deserves particular notice, for his great fortitude and prudent conduct in the battle. He continued advancing on the enemy until the centre of the main body gave way; and he and his party, advanced near a mile at the time, by his prudence were able to effect a regular retreat, without any considerable loss. Captain Eells on the right, and Captain            on the left, were also engaged; and, when obliged to retire, kept their order, and retreated with regularity. A body of the militia (I think they were commanded by General Porter), and another considerable detachment, deserve honorable mention to be made of them.

I am not yet able to ascertain our own or the enemy's loss; but in my next shall be able to give

you a more particular account. In my handful of Continental troops, I have lost five men killed; Lieutenant Gibbs, and six privates, wounded. I do not know of any missing. Some loss the militia have sustained. I am satisfied the loss of the enemy must have been considerable. About twenty boats landed on the west side the harbour, at Sock, and immediately began to set fire to the buildings. They completed burning the town (Norwalk) at about twelve o'clock. This appears to have been their sole business, as they did not stay to carry off any plunder of considerable value. A few Tory houses are left, which, I hope, our people will burn, as the owners are here, and have committed no act by which the public can seize them. I imagine Stamford will be the next object to wreak their hellish malice upon. To that place I shall repair to-morrow. I am fully persuaded that five hundred more men, such as the brave militia I have before mentioned, and the one hundred and fifty Continental troops, would have given the enemy a total defeat. The numbers of the enemy were about two thousand; our numbers between nine hundred and one thousand. I am, dear General,

Your obedient Servant,

SAMUEL H. PARSONS.

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FROM PRESIDENT REED.

In Council, Philadelphia, 14 July, 1779.

SIR,

Your Excellency's favor of the 5th instant was duly received, and, though it was and is the universal opinion, that the number of men under General Sullivan is greater than can be fed, when he pro-

ceeds a little further on the expedition, yet we gave early and peremptory orders to the companies of rangers to join him, as soon as they were completed to any tolerable number. We also directed the militia of the adjoining counties to give all possible aid, as we were resolved that, should the expedition fail of success, no imputation should justly fall upon the State of Pennsylvania. Our prospects of raising these men were very flattering, the success in recruiting, for a little time, having equalled, or rather exceeded, our expectations; but the Quarter-master's department having occasion for a number of bateau-men, and offering forty-five pounds per month, and a ration and a half per day, were terms so superior to what we had to offer, that the service has languished ever since, and it is very doubtful whether they will, or can be completed.

It is a general opinion, that the boatmen might have been procured upon more favorable terms; but, as it was a necessary service, and well meant, we can only wish better information had been had. Every State and country is limited in its powers, and if its resources are drawn off in one service, they cannot be had in another. Five hundred are engaged in this boat service, all of this State, besides which, the deputies, assistants, and helpers, amount to a great number. We would not infer from this that they are unnecessary, but to account for the deficiencies of these companies, which otherwise would have been very complete.

We beg leave to refer your Excellency to the inclosed letter, which will show that no orders have been wanting on our part, and that there is every disposition in the officers under us to execute them, as far as they can.

It is much to be wished that, instead of troubling your Excellency with this circuitous mode of application, General Sullivan would address himself directly to us. We have assured him that we will endeavour to give him every aid and assistance in our power, and, when it cannot be done, we shall, at least, be able to give him sufficient reasons. We have not had a line from him since he left Easton; and, though we know from other advices that these companies had not joined, we had not any information on the subject from the General himself.

We are very sensible, Sir, that this expedition has received all possible aid from you. It has also been fostered and cherished by this State. We have drawn off our wagons at four pounds ten shillings per day, which will not pay the drivers and shoe the horses. We have stopped a great number of ploughs. The encouragement of one hundred dollars, by Congress, was so small, that the State added shoes, shirts, leggings, blankets, and arms, amounting to triple the sum. Our orders and measures since, would show your Excellency our anxiety on the subject in so striking a view as to exclude any supposition that any thing is omitted, in our power, to procure the desired success. But we cannot change the course of things and order of Providence, to advance General Sullivan's views, be they ever so apparently salutary; and we hope his recollection of past periods, wherein he has seen you rise superior to disappointments and deficiencies far more important, will strengthen his mind to obviate those which may occur to him. With perfect esteem and respect, I have the honor to be, your Excellency's

Most obedient, and very humble servant,

JOSEPH REED.



FROM MAJOR-GENERAL HOWE.

Peekskill, Saturday, 17 [July], 1779.

Sir,

I joined the division at the Continental Village, the last evening, and arrived at this post at five this morning. I now only halt for the return of a reconnoitring party, sent out last night, and shall immediately proceed to execute your Excellency's orders. The field-pieces you suppose to have been taken on with the brigades, are not with them. General Nixon informs me there are not any attached to his brigade; those of General Patterson I think to send for.

Colonel Putnam informs me, that Peekskill would be a very precarious situation, as the enemy, by more than one road, and by a march of a few hours, might post themselves in our rear, and cut off the retreat; and that, without horsemen to act as videttes, we could not receive information in time to prevent it. If, therefore, there should be occasion to take post in this neighbourhood, I shall endeavour to fix on a situation not liable to this inconvenience.

Lest any difficulty should arise as to the pieces, I should be much obliged to you, Sir, to send such orders as may hasten them to me. I am, Sir, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

ROBERT HOWE.

P. S. The field-pieces, attached to these brigades, I am just informed, are all at Fishkill.\*

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\* General Wayne's letters, giving an account of the storming of Stony Point, on the night of the 15th of July, are in Washington's Writings, Vol. VI., Appendix, p. 537.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL HOWE.

Before Verplanck's Point, 17 July, 1779.

DEAR SIR,

I am now very near Verplanck's Point, which I have been reconnoitring, and shall still more fully inspect. What I discern of the works appears to be properly constructed, and seems capable of considerable defence, if the numbers and spirit of the garrison are adequate to the task. The troops, except such as I have fixed at particular passes, are with me. The heavy cannon are, by this time, I hope, at the Continental Village; and I have sent to hasten them as fast as possible. The ammunition appointed for them was not over the ferry when I left it. I gave the officers orders to expedite it.

Understanding from your Excellency, that the cannon and the requisites for them had been ordered, I did not presume to interfere before with the detail. I doubt not that, if your Excellency's orders have been complied with, I shall receive the ammunition with the pieces; but the field-pieces, I informed you this morning, were at Fishkill.

If works should be necessary to be thrown up, I am not furnished with one intrenching or other tool for the purpose. Should your Excellency think proper, please order them, and any other articles requisite. If the cannon do not get up in time to-day, shall retire till I meet them, if their security makes it necessary.

The men are out of provisions to-day, and I have no Commissary to apply to for a supply. Will it not be convenient to your Excellency to order some, as I am without wagons to bring it? I had sent videttes down the roads you mentioned, before the

receipt of your letter; but, as I am entirely unfurnished with horsemen, I was obliged to employ such of the country people as Colonel Putnam recommended.

Early this morning I sent an express to General Heath, and am sorry I had not then your Excellency's instructions with regard to horse. If I can procure an express, I shall send to the general again, as horsemen are so essential to our situation. Being informed of a militia troop of horse about twelve miles distant, I have desired Captain Delaval, who commands them, to join me. Whether in this application I shall be successful, remains a matter of speculation.

Inclining to make short work of the enemy, I ordered the engineer to reconnoitre their works, which he did at a very short distance. He reports, that storming them, at present, would be ineligible. I take the liberty to refer your Excellency for our numbers to Lieutenant Slade, not choosing to transmit a written return of them. With the greatest respect, I am your Excellency's

Very obedient and humble servant,

ROBERT HOWE.

P. S. The chaplain of General Patterson's brigade just informs me that, as he passed our cannon, he perceived the horses were jaded, and he thought they would not be up to-night.

I think it necessary to add, that Colonel Putnam has informed me there is more danger of being doubled between Continental Village and Peekskill, than between Peekskill and Verplanck's Point.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL McDUGALL.

West Point, 7 o'clock, P. M., 17 July, 1779.

SIR,

Your Excellency's favor of this day is this moment received. Colonel Hamilton's, of equal date, reached me at three, P. M. Only eight of the boats written for can be procured, and are now ready. It is impossible, at this post, to furnish the horse-harness desired; for few of the artillery, brought here, are accompanied with horse-harness. I have, however, directed the Quarter-master to write immediately to New Windsor for them. If they can be had, they will be sent with all possible despatch. The pettiaugers are ordered; but watermen are so scarce for the demand, and many of them marched with Patterson's brigade, I fear the number necessary cannot be got to man the galley. Every effort, however, will be made. I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's humble servant,  
ALEXANDER McDUGALL.

P. S. If my conjectures are just, as to the use to be made of the galley, I fear it is out of our power to send her properly provided to take in heavy cannon.

FROM GOVERNOR JEFFERSON.

Williamsburg, 17 July, 1779.

SIR,

I some time ago inclosed to you a printed copy of an order of Council, by which Governor Hamilton was to be confined in irons, and in close jail. This

has occasioned a letter from General Phillips, of which the inclosed is a copy. The General seems to suppose that a prisoner on capitulation cannot be put into close confinement, though his capitulation shall not have provided against it. My idea was, that all persons, taken in war, were to be deemed prisoners of war; that those who surrender on capitulation (or Convention) are prisoners of war also, subject to the same treatment with those who surrender at discretion, except only so far as the terms of their capitulation or Convention shall have guarded them. In the capitulation of Governor Hamilton (a copy of which I inclose), no stipulation is made as to the treatment of himself, or those taken with him. The Governor, indeed, when he signs, adds a flourish of reasons, inducing him to capitulate, one of which is, the generosity of his enemy. Generosity, on a large and comprehensive scale, seems to dictate the making a signal example of this gentleman; but waiving that, these are only the private motives inducing him to surrender, and do not enter into the contract of Colonel Clark.

I have the highest idea of the sacredness of those contracts which take place between nation and nation at war, and would be among the last on earth who should do any thing in violation of them. I can find nothing in those books, usually recurred to as testimonials of the laws and usages of nature and nations, which convicts the opinions I have above expressed, of error; yet there may be such an usage as General Phillips seems to suppose, though not taken notice of by these writers.

I am obliged to trouble your Excellency, on this occasion, by asking of you information on this point. There is no other person, whose decision will so au-

thereby decide this doubt in the public mind, and none with which I am disposed so to comply. If you shall be of opinion, that the bare existence of a capitulation in the case of Governor Hamilton, privileges him from confinement, though there be no article to that effect in the capitulation, justice shall most assuredly be done him. The importance of this question in a public view, and my own anxiety, under a charge of a violation of national faith by the Executive of the Commonwealth, will, I hope, apologize for my adding this to the many, many troubles with which I know you to be burdened. I have the honor to be, with the most profound respect and esteem, your Excellency's

Most obedient, and most humble servant,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

P. S. I have just received a letter from Colonel Bland, containing information of numerous desertions from the Convention troops (not less than four hundred in the last fortnight). He thinks he has reason to believe it is with the connivance of some of their officers. Some of these have been retaken, all of them going northwardly. They had armed themselves with forged passports, and with certificates of having taken the oath of fidelity to the State, some of them forged, others really given by weak magistrates. I mention this to your Excellency, as perhaps it may be in your power to have such of them intercepted, as shall be passing through Pennsylvania and the Jerseys.

Your letter, inclosing the opinion of the Board of Officers, in the case between Allison and Lee, is come safe to hand, after a long passage. It shall be answered by next post.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL HOWE.

Camp, near Verplanck's Point,  
4 o'clock, P. M.; Sunday, 18 July, 1779.

DEAR SIR,

I have received intelligence, three different ways, of the approach of the enemy. One informs me, that "several thousands of the enemy were, yesterday, one mile below White Plains, moving towards this place;" another, a verbal account, says that about two hundred of their horse were seen on some heights at New Bridge, by the informant. As I cannot doubt the credibility of these accounts, from the character of the persons who gave them, and as, consequently, there is the greatest reason to believe the enemy are making this effort to get me between two fires, duty and prudence enjoin me to avoid the snare. But, unwilling to risk too much on my own judgment, I have consulted that of the Brigadiers, who are of opinion, that no time should be lost to effect a retreat. Another express is just arrived, and confirms me in the above. I shall take post on the most convenient part of my route, and inform your Excellency farther. I have the honor to be, with great esteem, your Excellency's

Most obedient and humble servant,

ROBERT HOWE.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

Bald Hill, 18 July, 1779.

DEAR GENERAL,

Yesterday, at half past nine o'clock, A. M., I received your orders to march for Peekskill. At twelve,



the division began their march; marched fifteen miles, and halted; at three, this morning, pursued the march, and reached Peekskill at half past three, P. M. On my arrival, I found General Howe had sent off his cannon, and his division was filing off towards the Highlands. The enemy appeared to be advancing in force near the New Bridge. I threw my division in the rear, sent Patterson's to the Gorge, and Nixon's, Parsons's, and Huntington's to these heights, not being able to get further with the baggage.

Early in the morning I shall send on the baggage into the Highlands, and follow with the troops, giving the enemy an offer of attacking us in rear, if they choose it. Sir Henry Clinton is once more disappointed, after marching all day on my flank. Fortunately, I have formed a junction. Since I arrived here, I have been honored with yours of yesterday, inclosing one to General Glover. Immediately on the receipt of your letter, I sent off an express to hurry his brigade on, with all possible expedition, by the shortest and best route; and directed the express to take fresh horses. I shall critically observe the motions of the enemy in the morning. I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

WILLIAM HEATH.

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FROM MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

Mantenville's, 19 July, 1779.

DEAR GENERAL,

I was honored with your favor of yesterday, on my way from Bald Hill to this place. I had before ordered Parsons's brigade to encamp near Robinson's;

Huntington's, near the place where Parsons's encamped before they left this place; Patterson's, between that place and Danforth's; Nixon's, at the gorge of the mountains. Glover's is not yet arrived. May I be permitted to request that, when it does, it may be attached to General Howe's division?

By intelligence received since I had the honor to write in the morning, I learn that the enemy's advanced sentinels and videttes were posted, the last night, on the New Bridge. They appear to advance with the greatest caution. I think Major-General Howe was very fortunate in making his retreat the instant he did. Had he remained, I think he would have been Burgoyne'd; his intelligence being good, he escaped it. I have taken measures to obtain intelligence from every quarter on this side the river. Such as I receive shall be transmitted. I have ordered the light-horse to the left, and am determined to harass the enemy, if possible. I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

WILLIAM HEATH.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL HOWE.

Mandeville's, opposite West Point, 19 July, 1779.

DEAR SIR,

Deprived, as I was by the enemy's advances, of reducing their post at Verplanck's, which, but for that event, I persuade myself I should have effected, I had nothing left but to retreat, which I performed, and was so happy as to be joined by General Heath at Peekskill. My situation was critical, and it was well for me that I had found means to obtain to-

terribly exact information of the enemy's motions. Though disappointed of the ultimate end of my aim, if my conduct meets the approbation of my General, I shall be happy.

I beg leave to suggest the exceeding weak state of my division, and venture to express a wish, that an addition could be made to it. General Heath mentions Glover's brigade as unattached. I have the honor to be, with all respect, your Excellency's

Obedient and very humble servant,

ROBERT HOWE.

FROM COLONEL RICHARD BUTLER.

Fort Montgomery, 9 o'clock, 19 July, 1779.

SIR,

General Wayne, being indisposed, desires that I inform your Excellency that I remained to see the whole of the troops off the ground, and just as the last party moved, a cannonade from the enemy's ships began to cover their landing. At five o'clock they took immediate possession of the Point and dismantled works, confining themselves within the morass that encircles the Point, on which they placed a guard, and confined themselves within their sentries.

I observed some officers busily pointing from place to place, as if they were directing the repair of the works. I counted fifty-eight sail of shipping, of different kinds, in view, about twenty of which were square-rigged; and about ten of these I took to be frigates and sloops of war, from eighteen to thirty guns. I think they had landed about six hundred men, and were still very busily landing. Four large transports were very full of men, that I think none

had been sent from, as the boats were still plying from other vessels. They have many galleys and armed boats. The General thought it absolutely necessary your Excellency should have this intelligence immediately, and I have given it as circumstantially as in my power. I am, with respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,  
RICHARD BUTLER.

P. S. It is my opinion they will soon march for West Point, from the number of small sail-boats they have, as they had no need for these to land at Stony Point, and they are empty.

FROM WILLIAM FITZHUGH.

Lower Marlborough [Maryland], 17 August, 1779.

DEAR GENERAL,

I had the honor to receive your favor of the 25th of June, and should have wrote you long before this, but, as the meeting of our General Assembly was at hand, I waited for the event, in order to give you the result of their proceedings, especially relating to our army, speculating, engrossing, &c., &c.

We have passed an act to provide annually for our officers one complete suit of regimentals, four shirts, and an allowance of rum, sugar, tea, coffee, chocolate, tobacco, &c., at the current prices of such articles when the war commenced; and left it at the officer's choice to receive, if he pleased, seven hundred and fifty pounds currency, instead of the regimentals and shirts; and have provided an allowance of rum and tobacco for the non-commissioned officers

and soldiers. We have also continued the prohibition on the export of all kinds of provision, and passed an act to prevent forestalling and engrossing, and to appreciate our money, with very severe penalties; and have appointed a Committee in every county to see it duly executed. By this act, all provisions purchased, except what may be thought sufficient to serve the family of the purchaser twelve months, are seizable for the public use; and there is such provision made, respecting the sale of goods and merchandise, as will nearly amount to the stoppage of trade, and, I hope, will have a good effect, especially as we have, at the same time, laid a tax on all estates, real and personal, of thirteen pounds in the hundred, to be collected by the first day of November next.

These several regulations, with heavy taxes, I think must shake the speculators, though there are several wealthy companies, who have placed their agents from one end of the Continent to the other; and, at the head of one of them, Don Juan, a Spaniard, at Philadelphia, called the *Spanish Ambassador*. And much will depend on the measures adopted in other States. With respect to filling up our battalions, recruiting is to continue; and we have made an additional allowance, to every recruit, of a suit of clothes, a shirt, hat, shoes, and stockings.

I am greatly obliged to your Excellency for the several judicious hints, contained in your letters of the 10th of April and 25th of June, particularly those relating to our officers, and the *black tribe* of speculators. They had much weight in our Legislature, and assisted our deliberations. I could wish that Congress would bend their attention to some general regulation respecting trade, forestalling, engrossing, and speculations, to be recommended to the

whole United States. It would remove the evil effects of that jealousy which the States entertain of one another, respectively, regarding their trade; indeed, if adopted, the very foundation of its existence, and greatly strengthen the Union.

I have reflected with concern on the long and tedious confinement of our prisoners at York and Long Island (I mean our officers, for I believe the enemy have *disposed* of most of our private men); and on reading the report of our Commissioners, lately appointed to settle a cartel, I find that the British declare they wish not to exchange for the officers of the Convention troops (Burgoyne's), until the regiments, to which they belong, are also discharged. This is acknowledging an interest in their officers remaining prisoners, and, if not removed, will always operate against the settlement of a cartel. Separate the officers from the men, and the interest ceases. I believe it is not the custom of any nation to keep officers and privates prisoners of war together; wherefore, I presume, this singular instance has proceeded from some article of the Convention of Saratoga. Congress resolved that the Convention was broken on the part of Burgoyne, and therefore refused to comply with one capital article, which was, suffering the troops to embark at Boston to be transported to Great Britain.

If the Convention was broken, as I have no doubt it was, why comply with any part or article of it? Does it not imply a contradiction unfavorable to the wisdom or justice of Congress? I am confident, if that honorable body had reflected a moment on the *impropriety* and evil consequences of keeping such a number of officers and men together, they never would have suffered it, and would even now sepa-

rate them immediately. The impolicy of this indulgence is equally obvious. Had the men been separated from their officers, they would have mingled with the inhabitants of the several States, and most of them become good and useful citizens; we should have gained strength, and the enemy been weakened by it. Common soldiers, when they have an opportunity, are fond of quitting the military service, and especially on a Continent like this, where they can be so readily accommodated with the necessaries of life. Your Excellency will naturally conceive that I am rather sanguine on this subject, and may impute it to interest. It is true, I have the feelings of a father for a captive son, and sincerely regret his long detention from his country's service, as well as improvement in his profession; but still am clear in opinion that justice, sound policy, and the public good, require an immediate separation of the officers from the soldiers or private men of that army.

Be pleased to accept my thanks for the kind mention you make of my son. I have not had a letter from him since the 10th of July. He was then very well, on Long Island, and seems satisfied with every thing except his loss of time. The letters, which I mentioned as stopped by an officer on the British lines, were not to have passed by head-quarters, but through the hands of our Commissary of Prisoners, *via* Philadelphia. I have now requested my son to send his letters by way of head-quarters, and I take the liberty to inclose you one for him.

I very sincerely congratulate you on the success of our arms at Stony Point. It was a glorious action, and reflects much honor and credit on the brave officers and men who performed it.

I have been lately afflicted with the gout, and am



so blind that I cannot walk out without a guide. These infirmities, I am afraid, will disable me to continue in the public service; though I am determined, if possible, to hold out until there is a happy end to the war.

Mrs. Fitzhugh presents her respectful compliments, and joins with me in best wishes for your health and success in arms. I have the honor to be, with the warmest affection and regard, your Excellency's

Most obedient and obliged humble servant,

WILLIAM FITZHUGH.

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FROM THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, 25 August, 1779.

DEAR SIR,

I have had the pleasure of receiving your favor of the 16th instant. Britain refused the mediation of Spain at a time when their spirits were elated by their successes in the West Indies and the Southern States, and by the accounts they received of discord in Congress, discontent among the people, and a prospect of the evils with which we were threatened by the depreciation of our currency. Deceived by these illusory gleams of hope, they permitted their counsels to be guided by their pride. What reason they may have to expect succour from other powers is, as yet, a secret. M. Gérard is decided, in his opinion, that they will obtain none. The conduct of France, in establishing peace between Russia and the Porte, has won the heart of the Empress; and the influence of Versailles, at Constantinople, will probably give duration to her gratitude. The Emperor and Prussia are under similar obligations. The latter wishes us well,

and the finances of the former are too much exhausted to support the expenses of war, without subsidies from Britain, who, at present, cannot afford them. There is no reason to suspect that the peace of Germany will soon be interrupted. Britain may hire some troops there, but it is not probable she will be able to do more. Portugal and the Dutch, while directed by their interest, will not rashly raise their hands to support a nation, which, like a tower in an earthquake, sliding from its base, will crush every slender prop that may be raised to prevent its fall.

General Wayne's letter has been referred to the Committee of Intelligence for publication.

You may remember, Sir, to have received a letter from me last winter, recommending the person who carried it as an honest man, and who, in my opinion, would, with great fidelity, do the business you wished, and I advised him, to undertake.

In May last, I received a letter from him, informing me of his having written to you at the same time, and mentioning a matter of very delicate nature, which, I believe, was omitted in your letter, as he gave me reason to expect he would soon be here. I avoided particulars, not choosing to risk more on paper than was necessary. He has not, however, been here, nor have I received a line from him for some time past. From this circumstance, I have been apprehensive of his having relinquished that business; and the more so, as he intimated to me his doubts of its being well conducted, unless under your immediate direction; that the views of the gentleman, with whom he first conversed on the subject, were not very extensive, and his attention to expense too great.

The opinion I have of this man's usefulness leads me to mention these matters, that, if he has left the

business, I might, if you think proper, press him to resume it. If he still perseveres, I do not wish to be informed of any other particulars. With perfect respect, and sincere regard, I am, dear Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

JOHN JAY.

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FROM MONSIEUR GÉRARD.

(Translation.)

Philadelphia, 18 September, 1779.

SIR,

My plan and my dearest desire were, personally to take leave of your Excellency, and to go once more to admire, in a near view, the greatest man and best citizen of America. But a multitude of business, some indisposition, and the uncertainty of the epoch of my departure, have deprived me of the infinite satisfaction which I promised myself from the journey. Receive then, Sir, my adieus in writing, as well as the assurances of all my respect, and of all my attachment. I shall count it among the most flattering events of my life, to have been able to merit some share in the esteem and in the confidence of your Excellency.

France knows as well as America, Sir, that which she ought to place in your talents, and in your manner of thinking. Your attachment to the true interests of your country is the pledge of your dispositions towards the alliance; and I dare assure your Excellency, that my Court knows how to do you justice, and that your personal glory and personal happiness are as precious to the French nation as

they ought to be to the people of America. I have the honor to be, with the most respectful attachment, your Excellency's

Most humble, and most obedient servant,

GÉRARD.

FROM GOVERNOR JEFFERSON.

Williamsburg, 1 October, 1779.

SIR,

On receipt of your letter of August 6th, during my absence, the Council had the irons taken off the prisoners of war. When your advice was asked, we meant it should decide with us; and, upon my return to Williamsburg, the matter was taken up, and the inclosed advice given. A parole was formed, of which the inclosed is a copy, and tendered to the prisoners. They objected to that part of it which restrained them from saying any thing to the prejudice of the United States, and insisted on "freedom of speech." They were, in consequence, remanded to their confinement in the jail, which must be considered as a voluntary one, until they can determine with themselves to be inoffensive in word as well as deed.

A flag sails hence to-morrow to New York, to negotiate the exchange of some prisoners. By her I have written to General Phillips on this subject, and inclosed to him copies of the within, intending it as an answer to a letter I received from him on the subject of Governor Hamilton. I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient, and most humble servant,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

FROM COLONEL HAMILTON AND BRIGADIER-GENERAL DUPORTAIL.

Great Egg Harbour Landing,  
26 October, 1779.

SIR,

We are honored with two letters from your Excellency, of the 10th and 21st, to the contents of which we beg leave to assure you of our strictest attention. That of the 18th has not yet come to hand. It is not improbable it has gone round by Lewistown, which has occasioned the delay.

Colonel Hamilton wrote to your Excellency from Philadelphia, acquainting you with our arrival there, and our intention to proceed to Lewistown at Cape Henlopen; and from Great Egg Harbour, communicating our progress since, and our determination to establish ourselves at Bat Stove Furnace. We have since fixed on this place, about forty-four miles from the extremity of Cape May (eighteen miles short of the Furnace, which we found to be more remote than had been represented), and, as far as we are able to learn, from one hundred to one hundred and ten miles from Sandy Hook — about fifty from Philadelphia. Your Excellency will easily perceive the reasons of our choosing this station. It did not appear to us, from our inquiries in Philadelphia, to be a point well ascertained that the fleet would stop at the Delaware; and the time which had elapsed made it the more possible, if the Count should be determined to prosecute any further operations on the Continent, that he would not lose time by a procedure of this sort, but might content himself with sending some transports, under escort of a few frigates, to receive the provisions for the fleet, and proceed himself directly on to the Hook. On this supposition, our position at Lewis-

town was entirely ineligible. The distance at which we were from the city, as well as from the Hook, the delays that would consequently attend our intelligences from every quarter, the difficulty and impossibility sometimes of traversing the Bay, made our first situation inconvenient in every respect, in the event of the fleet's proceeding immediately to the Hook. These considerations induced us to cross the Delaware, and take the position at which we now are, where, or in the vicinity, we propose to remain till the arrival of the Count, till intelligence from him decides the inutility of a longer stay, or till we receive your Excellency's orders of recall.

We have now a better relation to the different points in which we are interested, and have taken the necessary precautions to gain the earliest notice of whatever happens. We have stationed expresses at the pitch of the Cape, and have established a regular communication with Major Lee, and with the city. If the fleet should appear off the Delaware, we can be there in twelve hours after its first appearance; and if at the Hook, in less than four days, provided Major Lee is punctual in conveying the intelligence, and the expresses from either side in bringing it.

By recent information from Philadelphia (though not quite so distinct and accurate as we could wish), we find that, so late as the 4th of this month, the Count was yet to open his batteries against the enemy at Savannah. The time that will probably intervene between this and their final reduction, the re-embarkation of the Count's troops, the dispositions for sailing, and his arrival on this coast, may, we fear, exhaust the season too much to permit the co-operation to which our mission relates. We do not,

however, despair; for, if the Count has been fully successful to the southward, and should shortly arrive, which may be the case, the enterprise may possibly still go on.

In a letter from Major Lee, of the 22d, he informs us that a vessel from Georgia arrived on the 16th, since which the two sixty-fours and the *Renown*, which were at the Hook, had fallen down towards New York, and the troops at the Hook had embarked, and gone to the city. At first sight this account alarmed us, and made us apprehensive that the enemy had received some favorable advices from the southward, which put them out of danger, and superseded the necessity of continuing their preparations for defence. But, on further reflection, we think it more probable that this is only a change of disposition; and that finding, on close examination, they would be unable to defend the Hook, they had determined to relinquish the attempt. This seems the more likely, as Major Lee mentions that a part of the hulks, sunk in the channel, had gotten aloft and drifted ashore.

To this experience of the difficulty of obstructing the channel, may, perhaps, be attributed the change we suppose. And we are confirmed in this conjecture by the evacuation of the two posts at King's Ferry, which appears, by your Excellency's letter, to have taken place on the 21st, five days after the supposed arrival of the vessel from Georgia; a proof that they had not received information of any decisive good fortune on their side, or ill fortune on ours; and that they persisted in their defensive plan. We are persuaded, too, that their exultation would have given wings to any good news they might have received, and that it would have reached us before this.



Were the season less advanced, we should regret this change of disposition, because we believe the attempt to defend the entrance of the Hook would have been fruitless; and it might have thrown a part of their ships and of their troops into our hands in the first instance, which could not fail to facilitate the successive operations.

But, at this late period, it may rather be an advantage. To force the passage, might have required land operations against the Hook, which would lose time, and expose the fleet to the hazard of winds, which would have rendered its situation critical. Now, the fleet may probably enter the Bay on its first approach, and be in security; and the whole operation will be brought to a point, and may demand less time for its accomplishment.

As a large number of fascines, ready for use, appears to us essential to any operations that may be undertaken, we presume your Excellency has been preparing, and will continue to prepare, as many as possible. We beg leave to suggest the utility of having at the same time a sufficient number of gabions and sand bags. Of the former, Colonel Gouvion, if your Excellency thinks proper, may be charged with the construction. The latter may be made under the care of the Quarter-master at Philadelphia. Several thousands may be necessary. The usual dimensions are fifteen or eighteen inches long, and twelve wide. If, notwithstanding the advices from Major Lee, any thing by land is to be attempted against the Hook, these will be peculiarly useful on such a flat, sandy spot; and, indeed, it would be impracticable to construct batteries in any reasonable time without them. We have the honor to be,

ALEXANDER HAMILTON,

DEPTFORD.

FROM GOVERNOR GREENE.

Warwick, Rhode Island, 5 November, 1779.

SIR,

I most sincerely congratulate your Excellency upon the enemy's having evacuated Rhode Island; but am sorry to be under the necessity of troubling you with a resolution of the Council of War of this State, which I take the liberty to inclose, by which you will please to observe the distressed situation the inhabitants of those towns must labor under for want of their records. I doubt not you will take every necessary measure that may tend to convince General Clinton of his error in continuing to hold them, as they certainly cannot be of any use to the enemy, exclusive of the pleasure they enjoy in distressing mankind, who are not to be controlled by them. I am, with every sentiment of respect, your Excellency's

Most obedient and most humble servant.

WILLIAM GREENE.

FROM GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

Hartford, 5 November, 1779.

SIR,

The time, when the arrival of the fleet under the command of the Count d'Estaing may be expected, being so far advanced that the utmost readiness to coöperate with him is become necessary, should he appear on this coast, and the immediate danger to which our own seaports will be exposed from the collected force of the enemy, should he be prevented from coming this way, have prevailed to induce the General Assembly of this State to order the militia,

requested by your Excellency, to be assembled at the places of rendezvous proposed, as soon as possible.

Should the advanced season, or any other unforeseen cause, prevent the Count from coming this way, and the intended enterprise against the enemy at New York be laid aside, the frontiers and sea-coasts of this State will be eminently exposed to the ravages and depredations of the enemy. We would flatter ourselves it will be in your Excellency's power to send a part of the troops, under your command, into this State, to take post so as to cover and protect the most exposed part of our sea-coasts and frontiers; and desire you to inform us whether we may expect that our hopes and wishes, in this respect, may be realized.

The keeping up large guards of the militia on the coasts, besides the enormous expense attending, injures the public service by withdrawing the men from the field, and lessening our ability to supply the army with men or provisions. But, I persuade myself, I need not use arguments to prevail upon your Excellency to indulge our request, if consistent with the public service and a due regard to the general interests of the States. I am, with great esteem and regard, my dear General,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

JONATHAN TRUMBULL.

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FROM MAJOR-GENERAL SULLIVAN.

Suffern's, 6 November, 1779.

DEAR GENERAL,

I am now moving to Pompton, agreeably to your Excellency's orders of yesterday. I find that the whole of the Rhode Island army is encamped on Sta-

ten Island, in addition to the troops before stationed there; that they are making preparations for an excursion somewhere, and it is generally conjectured that they intend a descent upon the Jersey shore. This conjecture seems to be strengthened by the light-horse being sent on to the Island, and the preparations they are making in the boat way. If the forage is their object, will our troops at Pompton be within sufficient distance to give a timely opposition? May not the magazines at Pluckamin be an object? I see the disadvantage which may arise from this division of the army being sent at too great a distance from the others, and beg pardon for the above hints, which are only intended to express my wishes to be in such a situation as may enable me effectually to answer your Excellency's wishes. The place which will best answer this purpose, your Excellency can best determine. I have the honor to be, with the most perfect respect, dear General,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

JOHN SULLIVAN.

P. S. I have not a horseman, or any thing in place of one, for expresses, or any other purpose.

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FROM MAJOR-GENERAL SULLIVAN.

Suffern's Tavern, 6 November, 1779.

DEAR GENERAL,

I am sorry to inform your Excellency, that I am under the painful necessity of leaving a service to which I am, by principle and interest, attached; and, among the variety of mortifications I must suffer in quitting it, that of being deprived the pleasure of

serving under your Excellency, stands among the foremost. My health is too much impaired to be recovered but by a total release from business; and, though the physicians give me encouragement that this will restore me, I am myself convinced of the contrary, and fear that I must content myself with enjoying the reflection of having used my utmost to serve my country, as the only thing I shall receive in exchange for a constitution sacrificed in endeavouring to promote its interest.

Should there be a probability of Count d'Estaing's arrival, I would willingly wait, to give the little assistance in my power to extirpate the enemies of this country; but, should this not be likely to happen, and the season be too far advanced, I must beg your Excellency's leave to retire as soon as possible, that I may take every measure in my power to restore my health in some degree, or at least to live in such a manner as will not tend to put it beyond a possibility of being restored, which a longer continuance in the service undoubtedly will. I have the honor to be, most respectfully, my dear General, your Excellency's

Most obedient and very humble servant,

JOHN SULLIVAN.

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FROM MAJOR-GENERAL LINCOLN.

Charleston, 7 November, 1779.

DEAR GENERAL,

I had the honor of your very obliging favor of the 28th of September, the last evening. I wish it was in my power to give you such an account of matters in this department, as would afford you some satis-

faction in the perusal ; but, unfortunately for me, and perhaps it may soon be more so for the public, I cannot do it. We remain unsupported by troops, unsupplied with many essential articles, and uncovered with works ; and, what adds to the unhappiness, is the little prospect that our affairs will speedily be in a better channel. For, with regard to troops, General Scott is not arrived, nor do I know when he may be expected, for I have not had a line from him since he was ordered this way ; but, from the best information I can obtain, if he comes at last, he has not more than four hundred men now fit for duty.

That is all we are encouraged to expect from Virginia, which, with those here from that State, will amount to between six and seven hundred ; from North Carolina, we have about one hundred and fifty Continental troops. More may not be expected from them, excepting militia. What number of those may be sent is uncertain ; and, indeed, unless they serve for a longer time than the last (namely, three months from the time they entered this state, a time too short, either to learn the duty, or to be inured to the fatigues of the camp), little may be expected from them. With regard to this State, they have not, in their five regiments, seven hundred men fit for duty ; and we have no reason to expect that their number will be much augmented, considering the aversion the people have for the service here ; or that any permanent force will be brought by them into the field. For, after solemn debate in the House of Assembly, they resolved, that the militia should not be drafted to fill up the Continental battalions, and that the militia, when in the field, should not be under the Continental articles of war ; and refused, on the recommendation of Congress, to raise any black

corps. The Georgia battalion does not amount to one hundred men in the whole; they are not in a capacity to keep that number up, for they have no legislative power in the State. The militia, therefore, are not properly organized, nor can be; they come out at their own option, and return at their discretion.

Thus, Sir, you see the state of our force, and our expectations. We are very deficient in many necessary articles, such as ammunition, tent-cloth, blankets, clothes, &c. This arises, in a great measure, from a large proportion of the vessels being taken, which were sent out hence for the public, and from others coming to a bad market.

This town, which is the magazine of the State, and which, for that and many reasons, claims the attention of the enemy, and to possess themselves of which is among their first objects, is in a very defenceless situation. The works about it, begun, are not finished; many more are necessary to be constructed, but from the want of negroes (the only laborers in this country), the matter is neglected. They have been sent for into the country, but, from some defect in the law, they are not brought in.

Fort Moultrie, on Sullivan's Island, six miles from the town, supposed to be the key of the harbour, is in a very decayed state, and without a ditch, pickets, or *abatis* to it. The repairs of that, also, are delayed from the same cause. Two floating batteries have been recommended to cover the bar, and they would undoubtedly answer the most valuable purpose, as no heavy ship can come over it, unless they take out their guns, or they are so much careened as they cannot work them. These, also, though indispensably necessary to the safety of the harbour, are unprovided.



By this short state of affairs, you will see what little expectations there are, that we shall be able to make any considerable defence, in case any thing serious is attempted here by the enemy. Besides, if they should attack the town, I think they will attempt to amuse us in the back parts of the country, and keep those people at home; indeed, there has been a late attempt to seize our magazines at Ninety Six and Camden. A very considerable number of men got in arms, but their designs were fortunately discovered, and many of them are taken. Yet the combination is alarming, and requires particular attention, considering what great proportion of the back inhabitants of these States are unfriendly and indifferent to the cause.

I have frequently, and, I think, faithfully, represented these matters to Congress, and to this State; and have endeavoured to convince them, by every argument in my power, that this State also was surely an object which claimed the attention of Britain, and policy, as it would affect us, and interest, would stimulate her to attempt the subjugation of it. We have about one thousand Continental troops in this State, and at Augusta, in Georgia. The Virginia dragoons and infantry are at Augusta. They were sent there on our retreat from before Savannah, in order to give confidence to the inhabitants and the militia of the country, and to be some check on the unfriendly, and the Indians. The second, third, and fifth South Carolina battalions, and part of the artillery, are at Sheldon, opposite Port Royal Ferry, and between thirty and forty miles from the Savannah, as a cover to the country, while the people take in their crops, and remove their stock, which should be done immediately. The first and sixth battalions are

at Fort Moultrie, and the North Carolina troops in this town.

As soon as it shall become necessary, I mean to collect the Continental troops to a point, and to leave the well-affected militia to cover the back part of the country. They will render more service there than in garrison. The militia in the vicinity of Charleston will be called in to its aid. I have requested the State to provide some secure place, properly supplied with provisions, as an asylum for the aged, the infirm, the women, and children; that, in case of a siege, we may have no useless mouths in town, or any circumstance which would induce a more early surrender, or add to the absolutely necessary distresses of a siege.

I think this town might be defended against a very formidable attack, if all was done for its security which ought to be done. For it is situated on a peninsula; our lines in the rear of it are about half a mile in length, and will soon have in front of them, at the distance of a musket shot, a fosse, in which the water will be retained six or seven feet by dams,—one towards Cooper, and the other towards Ashley River; this completed, and the necessary works about the town finished, and the floating batteries provided, we should not be easily insulted, with a proper garrison and magazines. I am, my dear General, with the warmest sentiments of regard and esteem, unalterably yours,

BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GATES.

Providence, 8 November, 1779.

SIR,

Thursday night I had the honor to receive your Excellency's letter of the 1st instant, and immediately gave orders for moving the Continental troops over the bay to Greenwich; but, the weather proving so very stormy the whole day, that could not be effected before Saturday evening. I came myself that night to Providence, and gave orders for Jackson's regiment, stationed here, to march this morning for Plainfield; if the weather continues tolerable, I have no doubt but the whole will reach Hartford Saturday. I have advised with those who are the best acquainted with the different routes at this season of the year; they all prefer that by Hartford, upon account of the facility of passing the ferries, and the goodness of the roads that way.

I shall bring with me only four pieces of light brass field artillery, and propose leaving what is called the park, here, with a small guard to take care of it. If your Excellency wishes more to be brought forward, it may be easily done after the receipt of your farther orders. I am, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,  
HORATIO GATES.

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FROM COLONEL BRODHEAD.

Pittsburg, 10 November, 1779.

DEAR GENERAL,

I am honored with your favor of the 18th ultimo. The honorable notice you have been pleased to take

of my little expedition, fills my mind with the warmest gratitude, and I hope to merit your future esteem.

It is some time since I inclosed to the honorable Board of War a return of the troops under my command, and of the articles of clothing necessary for the respective corps, to render them tolerably comfortable during the ensuing winter. The troops have received a small supply of money, and I expect they will be contented, until more can be procured from the treasury.

An expedition against Detroit, in the winter season, will doubtless put us in possession of the enemy's shipping, and, of course, give us the command of Lake Erie. Winter expeditions are generally attended with great loss of horses and cattle, except where large magazines of forage are laid in, and can be transported. But the British garrison and shipping will be a full compensation for every loss of that kind, and, indeed, every difficulty we can meet in the obtaining it, as it will likewise secure the future tranquillity of this frontier.

I will endeavour to have every thing in perfect readiness, and procure the best intelligence that circumstances will admit. I believe a considerable number of Indians will join me; but I have little expectation of supplies, except from the French settlement in the vicinity of that post; and, as the British yearly cause the inhabitants to thresh out the grain, and sell to them for the purpose of filling their magazines, little dependence can be placed on receiving supplies from them; and the Indians, on the River St. Lawrence, subsist chiefly on animal food. I have frequently applied to the Board of War for supplies and trinkets for the Indians, but fear it is not in their power to procure them. I will, however, renew my application.

It is with great pleasure I hear of the destination of his Excellency Count d'Estaing, and I have a happy presage that he will have the most ample success.

I herewith remit a return of the cannon and military stores belonging to these garrisons, and an estimate of the cannon and military stores necessary for the intended expedition, to the best of my judgment. My best intelligence, at present, is, that the enemy have erected a very strong work, near to the old fort, and on the only commanding eminence, behind the soldiers' gardens; that the garrison consists of three hundred regulars (some say more), and about the same number of militia; some of the latter description, it is said, will join our troops on their arrival in that neighbourhood. The Wyandots, Tawas, Chippewas, and Pottawattomies, live in the vicinity of Detroit, and many of them are, without doubt, under British influence.

If the expedition cannot be prosecuted before the month of February, it will then be too late, on account of the high floods to which the intermediate country is subjected. Should it prove impracticable to carry on the expedition against Detroit, the troops under my command, with some volunteers, in my opinion, might be advantageously employed on an expedition against the Shawanese, on the Miami River, and from thence against the enemy's post at Natchez, with very little or no additional expense, and return early in the spring to march against Detroit. For I apprehend no danger to this frontier during the winter season, and the troops will be healthier, if continued in action, than in these garrisons.

A couple of French gentlemen, of good address, would be very serviceable in this district, and especially on an expedition. I shall be happy to hear

from you and receive further instructions. I have the honor to be, with the highest sentiments of respect and esteem, your Excellency's

Most obedient and most humble servant,

DANIEL BRODHEAD.

P. S. I am this moment informed that two thousand Indians, who were driven from their towns, are in great distress, and live on the pittance afforded them by the enemy at Niagara. This intelligence is from Sandusky, and may be relied on. They inform the other Indians that they are afraid to hunt, on account of the Americans.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

West Point, 14 November, 1779.

SIR,

Your Excellency undoubtedly has frequently had under consideration a proper position for winter-quarters. It is not always in the power of a General to take a position most favorable to his wishes, on account of provision and forage, or to place himself in the most advantageous point of view for covering the country and securing his capital posts. A certainty with respect to provision and forage is an object of the first consideration in taking a position. All inferior evils, of whatever nature, may, in some sort, be remedied by foresight and precaution; but there is no contending with hunger. Therefore, what would be considered only as secondary objects in some cases, become principals here.

In the choice of a position, we must pay some regard to the enemy's collected force, and to our divid-

ed condition, in which the army must of necessity be cantoned. The enemy now appear to be putting their troops into winter-quarters; but it cannot be supposed they will remain inactive all winter, if we, by the manner of cantoning the army, open to them an opportunity of insulting us to advantage. The mischievous consequences of having our quarters beat up, in the dead of winter, cannot readily be foreseen. That it would be their duty and interest to lay hold of such an opportunity, nobody can deny; and that the character of the General, and many national circumstances, lead to the supposition, must be agreed to. It is necessary, therefore, to take a position which will secure us from a surprise, and have as much force together as possible, to free us from insult. The place where, and the force necessary, to these ends, are the two capital points to decide upon.

The command of the North River is an object of such importance, that the force and supplies necessary for this purpose must be had at all events. The force requisite for these garrisons, I suppose, has been very judiciously calculated by General Duportail; and I imagine there cannot be any great variation from his report.

Your Excellency will find, after detaching a proper force for this place, a covering party for the State of Connecticut, and the other necessary guards for King's Ferry, stores, and posts of communication, your force will be greatly inferior to that of the enemy; and it will be growing more and more so as the service of the soldiers expires. It will be necessary, therefore, to endeavour to remedy, by the strength of ground, the deficiency of force.

I have no doubt but that every State bordering upon the enemy, will apply for a proper force, to



protect them against their ravages. To comply with these demands, will hazard the safety of the whole army. Divide your force, and you will fall a prey in every quarter; and, I am persuaded, were you to adopt the plan which would be most flattering to the wishes of the people, it would be so far from affording them that protection and security which they promise themselves, that it would become one of the principal causes of the enemy's making inroads, and committing depredations upon them.

There can be but two modes of cantonment, to prevent the enemy from disturbing us in quarters. One is, to keep such a force together as to bid defiance to all their menaces; the other is, to disperse the troops in such a manner as to afford no object. The first is infinitely the most favorable to discipline and economy. To disperse the troops among the inhabitants, will be attended with a certain loss of discipline to the soldiers and a general corruption of manners among the people. They will mutually debauch each other. Besides these disadvantages, the expense and waste of stores will be nearly double, and a great addition to the list of Staff Officers (already too numerous from the state of our money) will be found necessary. For these, and many other reasons too obvious to need explanation, dispersing the troops should be avoided at all events.

Whatever covering is given to any part of the country, except where the principal force is stationed, should be so calculated as to be able to check the enemy's small ravaging parties, and yet not be an object worthy any considerable movement of theirs.

From the representation of both the Commissary-General and the Forgemaster-General, I find your Excellency will be obliged to quarter the troops in

New Jersey. The great consumption of forage, that has taken place in this State for five months past, will render it very difficult to provide for this garrison, and the different posts of communication.

In cantoning the troops and drawing supplies for their subsistence, it may not be amiss to have an eye to the affair of next campaign. The expense and difficulty of transportation from the Western States, your Excellency is perfectly acquainted with. You are also sensible that the long tract of barren country, through which the supplies must come, will only admit of a certain quantity of transportation; therefore I conceive, that good policy points out the necessity of keeping as many stores in reserve in this State as possible. This is necessary, not only to be prepared for any emergency that may happen from the enemy's turning their force against the Eastern States, but to have a magazine in readiness for a secret purpose, which your Excellency hinted to me a few days since.

The further we move our main force to the westward, and still be within supporting distance of this garrison, the better, both for the preservation of the provision and forage of this State, as well as to lessen the general expense of transportation. And the greater stock of provision and forage we can leave in this State, and upon the communications, the less difficulty we shall find in giving support to this place, should the enemy approach it. I should recommend, therefore, to quarter the army as far westward as Morristown or Baskingridge. The country is strong, secure from a surprise, happily situated to receive supplies of provisions and forage, and not very inconvenient for giving protection and cover to the inhabitants. It is true, it is considerably removed

from this place. But were we to take a position at Suffern's or Pompton, the consumption of forage would be so great that it would destroy the possibility of keeping up a communication with the Western States, however pressing the necessity, before the grass season. Suppose the enemy should move up, early in the spring, and lay siege to West Point, and the supplies of this State prove unequal to our support, should we not be obliged to abandon it to its fate?

There is another objection to the Suffern's or Pompton position, which is, the advantage it gives the enemy of dividing our attention, by taking post at King's Ferry. It will be impossible for us to determine which is their object, the camp or West Point; and it will be almost as dangerous to expose our camp as these garrisons, especially early in the spring, when we have all our baggage about us, and no possibility of moving it off. If we take a position near Morris, we can always tell, by the motions of the enemy, what is their object; and, having our camp in a secure situation, should they turn their force towards this place, we can march to its relief in such force as to give certain support, and at the same time leave our camp in perfect security.

The fortifications here are so strong, and the garrison will be so numerous, that I think we have but little to fear, either from a surprise or storm; and therefore we have only to guard against an investiture or siege.

As the enemy have the advantage of a water transportation, and the spring is the most difficult part of the year for a land conveyance, it is most probable, if they have any designs upon this post, they will commence their operations before the grass season. Will it not be worth while, therefore, to form a small

magazine of provision and forage, at or near Mr. Erskine's Iron Works, for the purpose of subsisting the army on their march to this place? And another considerable magazine of provision and forage at Chester or Warwick for the support of this army in whatever position it may take for the relief of this garrison? These magazines should be formed from the westward, in the winter season, when there is the least call for transportation, and the roads the most favorable for the purpose.

I imagine there will be great interest made for the eastern troops to be posted on the east side of the North River, to favor their recruiting. These reasons have something plausible in them, but I have my doubts with respect to their truth and reality. Men, when they are near home, are much more influenced by domestic attachments than they are when they are at a great distance. The friends and relations of the soldiers very seldom use their influence to engage them in the service. On the contrary, they commonly make use of every argument to dissuade them from it. I am of opinion, therefore, the further the troops are removed from home, the more favorable it will be to the recruiting service in camp.

There is but one reason for cantoning the eastern troops on the east side of the North River; and that is, they are more convenient to receive their State stores. But this is so trifling a consideration, that it ought to have no weight, when it is opposed to so many more important considerations.

My present opinion favors the following disposition of the troops for winter-quarters. The garrison here should consist of Patterson's, Learned's, Clinton's, and the North Carolina brigades, which, I believe, will form a force sufficient for the purpose. If the horse is

posted in Connecticut, as seems to be thought on, I think the troops coming from Rhode Island, in conjunction with the horse, will form a sufficient covering party for the exposed parts of Connecticut and Westchester. I would only wish Clinton's brigade to be here, because it may interest the inhabitants to furnish supplies in the winter, and to encourage the militia to turn out with spirit, should the enemy make a sudden move towards the post. The connection between the army and country will have an influence in both these respects.

The Delaware regiment can furnish guards for King's Ferry, and the stores at Ringwood, should your Excellency think proper to establish a magazine there. I mention this regiment for this service, because it seems to be unconnected with any brigades; or, at least, the Maryland brigades are complete without it.

The rest of the troops I would quarter, as before mentioned, somewhere not far distant from Morris or Baskingridge, according as wood and water may favor a position.

Should the enemy make any considerable detachments from New York, a larger covering party may be necessary for the State of Connecticut, as I should have more apprehensions of their committing depredations, if they detach, than if they do not; for then they will have nothing left but to play the small game.

The earlier the position is fixed upon, the better for quartering the army. I wish your Excellency, therefore, as soon as you have decided in your mind the places and force requisite for each side of the North River, and the garrison for these fortifications, would please to acquaint me therewith, as it will

be a more perfect guide to my conduct, in making the preparations for cantoning the army. I am, with great respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,  
NATHANAEL GREENE.

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FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GATES.

Hartford, 15 November, 1779.

SIR,

In obedience to the orders contained in your Excellency's letters of the 1st and 2d instant, I marched the whole of the Continental troops from the State of Rhode Island, and arrived yesterday morning, with the first division, consisting of a detachment of Colonel Crane's artillery, with two six-pounders, Colonel Livingston's, Colonel Jackson's, and Colonel Webb's regiments, at Hartford. The second division, consisting of the rest of Colonel Crane's, with the like artillery, Colonel Greene's, Colonel Angell's, and Colonel Sherburne's regiments, will be here this evening. As I find no orders here, and have not received any letter from your Excellency since that dated the 2d instant, I shall encamp the troops, and wait your further commands. I am, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,  
HORATIO GATES.

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FROM GOVERNOR JEFFERSON.

Williamsburg, 28 November, 1779.

SIR,

Your Excellency's letter, on the discriminations which have been heretofore made between the troops

raised within this State, and considered as part of our quota, and those not so considered, was delivered me four days ago. I immediately laid it before the Assembly, who thereupon came to the resolution I now do myself the honor of inclosing to you. The resolution of Congress, of March 15, 1779, which you were so kind as to inclose, was never known in this State till a few weeks ago, when we received printed copies of the journals of Congress. It would be a great satisfaction to us to receive an exact return of all the men we have in Continental service, who come within the descriptions of the resolution, together with our State troops in Continental service. Colonel Cabell was so kind as to send me a return, of October, 1779, of the Continental regiments, commanded by Lord Stirling, of the 1st and 2d Virginia State regiments, and of Colonel Gist's regiment. Besides these, there are the following;—Colonel Harrison's regiment of artillery, Colonel Baylor's horse, Colonel Bland's horse, General Scott's new levies (part of which are gone to South Carolina, and part are here), Colonel Gibson's regiment stationed on the Ohio, Heath's and O'Hara's independent companies at the same stations, Colonel Taylor's regiment of guards to the Convention troops. Of these we have a return; there may possibly be others not occurring to me. A return of all these would enable us to see what proportion of the Continental army is contributed by us.

We have, at present, very pressing calls to send additional numbers of men to the southward. No inclination is wanting, in either the legislative or executive powers, to aid them, or strengthen you; but we find it very difficult to procure men. I herewith transmit to your Excellency some recruiting commis-



sions, to be put into such hands as you may think proper, for reënlisting such of our soldiery as are not engaged already for the war. The act of Assembly, authorizing these instructions, requires that the men enlisted should be reviewed and received by an officer, to be appointed for that purpose; a caution less necessary in the case of men now actually in service, and therefore doubtless able-bodied, than in the raising new recruits. The direction, however, goes to all cases, and therefore we must trouble your Excellency with the appointment of one or more officers of review. Mr. Moss, our agent, receives orders, which accompany this, to pay the bounty money and recruiting money, and to deliver the clothing. We have, however, certain reason to fear he has not any great sum of money on hand; and it is absolutely out of our power, at this time, to supply him, or to say, with certainty, when we shall be able to do it. He is instructed to note his acceptances under the drafts, and to assure payment as soon as we shall have it in our power to furnish him, as the only substitute for money. Your Excellency's directions to the officer of review, will probably procure us the satisfaction of being informed, from time to time, how many men shall be reënlisted.

By Colonel Matthews, I informed your Excellency of the situation of Governor Hamilton and his companions. Lamothe and Dejean have given their paroles, and are at Hanover Court-House. Hamilton, Hay, and four others, are still obstinate. They, therefore, are still in close confinement, though their irons have never been on since your second letter on the subject. I wrote full information of this matter to General Phillips also, from whom I had received letters on the subject. I cannot, in reason, believe that

the enemy, on receiving this information, either from yourself or General Phillips, will venture to impose any new distresses on our officers in captivity with them. Yet their conduct, hitherto, has been most successfully prognosticated, by reversing the conclusions of right reason.

It is, therefore, my duty, as well as it was my promise to the Virginia captives, to take measures for discovering any change which may be made in their situation. For this purpose I must apply for your Excellency's interposition. I doubt not but you have an established mode of knowing, at all times, through your Commissary of Prisoners, the precise state of those in the power of the enemy. I must, therefore, pray you to put into motion any such means as you may have of obtaining knowledge of the situation of the Virginia officers in captivity. If you shall think proper, as I could wish, to take upon yourself to retaliate any new sufferings which may be imposed on them, it will be more likely to have due weight, and to restore the unhappy, on both sides, to that benevolent treatment, for which all should wish. I have the honor to be, with the most perfect esteem and respect, your Excellency's

Most obedient and most humble servant,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

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FROM THOMAS NELSON.

York, 18 November, 1779.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

Your kind favor of the 21<sup>th</sup> of last month, by some means reached me only a few days ago. I am greatly obliged by your concern for my health, which

is perfectly restored. The confinement absolutely necessary for a member of Congress, who pays the attention he ought to the great concerns of this Continent, is totally inconsistent with my constitution. It was with reluctance that I left Congress at the time I did; but my disorder, brought on and increased by a sedentary life, compelled me to do so. I am never so well as when I take upon me the soldier. It may be asked, why I do not engage seriously in that line. Believe me, when I tell you, that I have often lamented my not taking the field with you at the commencement of this war, and there is a punctilio at this time that prevents it. To enter in a subordinate rank would not suit my own feelings; and to take rank of the worthy officer who had seen the brunt of the war, would wound his feelings, and show a want of generosity in myself.

You have heard, before this day, of our misfortune before Savannah. The disappointment was increased by our great certainty of success. Some of our allies, who suffered in that affair, are now in this town in a very sickly condition indeed. The \_\_\_\_\_, one of the seven ships that were to winter in this Bay, is arrived with about three hundred land forces. The others, it is imagined, have borne away for the West Indies. Count d'Estaing is certainly gone to Europe.

Our Assembly has been sitting some time, and, about a fortnight ago, appointed a Committee of Ways and Means, to consider of measures for complying with the requisitions of Congress, as well as to support our own credit. I think I may venture to say, there will be not the least doubt of both being effected by taxes and loans. Congress may rely on her quota of money from this State, which, I hope, will quickly restore her credit. Never was

America in more danger than at this time. The Continental treasury exhausted; internal commotions in some of the States; differences in Congress respecting the back territory claimed by Virginia, which, I fear, will be attended with serious consequences. It was determined, yesterday, to put all the officers and soldiers, who are citizens of this Commonwealth, upon the same footing with those in the Virginia line.

A motion has been made to give the same quantity of land to the officers and soldiers belonging to those States that have no back territory, as is provided for our own troops; but, to my great sorrow, it failed. I think it would have been but just, and I am sure it would have been politic. The injury done to America, if those troops should quit the service, will be as great as if the Virginia line should quit it; for, although I may not think those States have the least claim upon our back lands, yet I think the officers and soldiers should all be upon an equal footing, having, indeed, equal services; and to compel the States, so circumstanced, to purchase these lands for their troops, is subjecting them to a burden which they ought not to bear. I distinguish between the citizens of those States and the troops. The former cannot, upon any principle of justice, insist upon that country being thrown into the common stock, towards defraying the expenses of the war; but the latter may complain of great injustice done them, when they see such a difference made between them and their fellow-soldiers, who have all engaged in the general defence of the States. Accept my sincere wishes for a continuance of your health, an object in which no one thinks himself more interested than

Your friend and obedient servant,

THOMAS NELSON, JR.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL SULLIVAN.

Pompton, 1 December, 1779.

DEAR GENERAL,

Perhaps there was never more justice in any advice than that given by the philosopher to his prince, namely, "Always beware of the man that flatters you, and appears to coincide with your sentiments on all occasions."

I am confident that I have never appeared to your Excellency in this character; nay, I have studied to avoid even the appearance of being a flatterer. I knew, at the same time, that your Excellency, as well as all others in high office, had those animals constantly courting your favors; and, I confess that I have sometimes felt an uneasiness, lest my neglect of expressing those sentiments of esteem and affection which I really felt should be construed into a want of cordial esteem for that Commander, to whom America stands so much indebted. Conscious, however, of my own sincerity, I contented myself with yielding a cheerful obedience to all orders your Excellency was pleased to honor me with; not doubting that some future period might discover in whose bosom the most lively sentiments of friendship and esteem were lodged. But, as my present state of health almost forbids me to hope for the honor of serving again under your command, your Excellency will excuse me in declaring that I have ever felt those exalted sentiments of esteem and affection for you, that even your sincerest friend can boast. My public and constant declaration has been, and I now repeat, that, in my opinion, you are the saviour of this country; and that to your fortitude, bravery, and

steadily perseverance, do we owe the independence and freedom we enjoy.

This I say, to remove any doubts that may have arisen respecting my friendship and affection; and I should now have avoided it, did not my own feelings too strongly indicate that I can never have the pleasure of again serving under your Excellency's command.

You will please to pardon this long and (I dare say) to you tedious introduction to something more interesting. Permit me, then, to inform your Excellency, that the faction raised against you in 1777, into which General Conway was unfortunately and imprudently drawn, is not yet destroyed. The members are waiting to collect strength, and seize some favorable moment to appear in force. I speak not from conjecture, but from certain knowledge. Their plan is to take every method of proving the danger arising from a Commander who enjoys the full and unlimited confidence of his army, and alarm the people with the prospect of imaginary evils; nay, they will endeavour to convert your virtues into arrows, with which they will seek to torment you.

This plan was adopted the last winter; and, if you will take the trouble of reading Mr. Tudor's oration, delivered at Boston in March last, you will find every line calculated to answer this purpose. The words are Tudor's, but the thoughts are borrowed. I heard them thrown out long before they were by him laid before the public.

Here I cannot help digressing to congratulate your Excellency on your compelling them to attack your virtue, and not putting it in their power to point out a single vice.

The next step is to persuade Congress that the

military power of America should be placed in three or four different hands; each having a separate quarter of the Continent assigned him; each commander to answer to Congress only for his conduct. This, they say, will prevent an aspiring commander from enslaving his country, and put it in the power of Congress, with the assistance of the other commanders, to punish the attempt. This is a refinement in politics, and an improvement on public virtue, which Greece or Rome could never boast.

The present time is unfavorable to their design. They well know, that the voice of citizens and soldiers would be almost unanimously against them. But they wait a more favorable opportunity, which they will certainly improve. I am well convinced that they cannot succeed; yet I thought it my duty, in the moment of my departure, to give your Excellency this notice, that you may not only be on your guard, but avoid intrusting those in matters where your interest and honor are nearly concerned. Appearances may deceive even an angel. Could you have believed, four years since, that those adulators, those persons so tenderly and so friendly used, as were Gates, Mifflin, Reed, and Tudor, would become your secret and bitter, though unprovoked enemies? If we view them now, we cannot help lamenting the want of sincerity in mankind. I persuade myself that your Excellency's steady and prudent conduct will baffle every attempt, and I feel happy in having discharged my duty to the best of commanders; and only beg leave to assure your Excellency, that, in whatever station fortune may place me in future, no man will be more ready to bestow the rewards due to your Excellency's disinterested zeal, bravery, forti-



bold, and perseverance, than, dear General, your Excellency's

Most obedient and devoted servant,

JOHN SULLIVAN.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL LORD STIRLING.

Buckingham, 9 December, 1779.

DEAR SIR,

I have your Excellency's favor of this date, on the subject of the movement of the Virginia troops. I should have been very happy to have continued the command of them, as they are an excellent body of men, and, among the officers, many valuable men for whom I have the greatest esteem; but, in all arrangements of the army, I have always been content with the commands that have been allotted to me, and I do not doubt I shall have reason to be so in the future arrangements. However pleasing the command of the Southern army might have been to me, the very great esteem I have for General Lincoln would prevent my entertaining a wish to take it out of his hands. Besides his abilities, the knowledge he has acquired of that country points him out as the fittest officer for that command, and I am happy he is continued in it. Whatever commands your Excellency may commit to my care, you may be assured will be executed with cheerfulness and faithfulness; and that, with much sincere affection, esteem, and regard, I have the honor to be your Excellency's

Most obedient, humble servant,

STIRLING.

FROM GOVERNOR JEFFERSON.

Williamsburg, 16 December, 1779.

SIR,

I take the liberty of putting under cover to your Excellency, some letters to Generals Phillips and Riedesel, uninformed whether they are gone into New York or not, and knowing that you can best forward them in either case.

I also trouble you with a letter from the Master of the Flag, in this State, to the British Commissary of Prisoners in New York, trusting it will thus be more certainly conveyed than if sent to Mr. Adams. It is my wish the British Commissary should return his answer through your Excellency, or your Commissary of Prisoners, and that they should not propose, under this pretext, to send another flag, as the mission of the present flag is not unattended by circumstances of suspicion, and a certain information of the situation of ourselves, and our allies here, might influence the measures of the enemy. Perhaps your Commissary of Prisoners can effect the former mode of answer.

I inclose to you part of an act of Assembly, ascertaining the quantities of land which shall be allowed to the officers and soldiers, at the close of the war, and providing means of keeping that country vacant which has been allotted for them.

I am advised to ask the attention of your Excellency to the case of Colonel Bland, late Commander at the barracks in Albemarle.\* When that gentleman was applied to, to take that command, he attended

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\* Colonel Bland had commanded at Charlottesville, after the arrival of the Convention troops at that place. See "The Bland Papers," edited by Charles Campbell, pp. 1-29.

the Executive here, and informed them, that he must either decline it, or be supported in such a way as would keep up that respect which was essential to his command, without, at the same time, [sacrificing] his private fortune.

The Executive were sensible, that he would be exposed to very great and unavoidable expense. They observed that his command would be in a department separate from any other, and that he actually relieved a Major-General from the same service. They did not think themselves authorized to say what should be done in this case, but undertook to represent the matter to Congress, and, in the mean time, gave it as their opinion that a decent table ought to be found for him. On this he undertook the command, and, in the course of it, incurred expenses which seem to have been unavoidable, unless he would have lived in such a way as is hardly reconcilable to the spirit of an officer, or the reputation of those in whose service he is. Governor Henry wrote on the subject to Congress. Colonel Bland did the same; but we learn that they have concluded the allowance to be unprecedented and inadmissible in the case of an officer of his rank. The Commissaries, on this, have called on Colonel Bland for reimbursement. A sale of his estate was about to take place, when we undertook to recommend to them to suspend their demand till we could ask the favor of you to advocate this matter with Congress, so far as you may think it right; otherwise the ruin of a very worthy officer must inevitably follow. I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect and esteem, your Excellency's

Most obedient and most humble servant,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Morristown, January, 1780.

SIR,

The situation of my department has been, for a long time, peculiarly embarrassed. My greatest solicitude and efforts have scarcely satisfied the common exigencies of the service; and I have the mortification to find that, in spite of all my endeavours, the difficulties are every day increasing.

I have repeatedly mentioned to your Excellency, for some months past, that the supplies of money furnished the department were very unequal to the current expenses. I have all along flattered myself that affairs would take a new and more favorable turn. As Congress were deliberating upon the subject of finance, I was led to believe that the schemes and plans they were adopting would afford more ample relief; and have encouraged the agents, under such an expectation, to proceed in the execution of the business. They have been enabled to extend their credit thus far, so as to keep the wheels in motion, hoping not to fail until government could find ways and means for furnishing us with cash more adequate to the demands.

But whatever grounds I supposed there were for authorizing such expectations, I now find they were vain and nugatory. The cloud thickens, and the prospects are daily growing darker. There is now no hope of cash. The agents are loaded with heavy debts, and perplexed with half-finished contracts, and the people clamorous for their pay, refusing to proceed in the public business unless their present demands are discharged. The constant run of expenses, incident to the department, presses hard for further

profit, or immediate supplies of money. To extend one, is impossible; to obtain the other, we have not the least prospect. I see nothing, therefore, but a general check, if not an absolute stop, to the progress of every branch of business in the whole department. I have little reason to hope that, with the most favorable disposition in the agents, it will be in our power to provide for the occasional demands of the army in their present cantonments; much less, to have in readiness the necessary apparatus, and supplies of different kinds, for putting the army in motion at the opening of the campaign. My apprehensions of a failure in these respects are so strong, and my anxiety for the consequences so great, that I feel it my duty once more to represent to your Excellency our circumstances and prospects. From such a view of our situation, you may be led not to expect more from us than we are able to perform, and may have time to take your measures consequent upon such information.

I know not whether government can command such sums of money as are necessary for the current expenses of the nation; but it is a folly to expect that this expensive department can be long supported on credit. A further attempt would only bring ruin and distress upon ourselves, without affording any substantial advantage, either to the public or the army; and, therefore, I think it highly necessary, as all military movements are under your immediate direction, and as the affairs of this department are intimately connected with all the active operations, that you should have a right understanding with Administration, with respect to the support they can give, in executing the measures you may think proper to take.

There is no deficiency in the resources of the country. On the contrary, I have authentic reasons to conclude the country is more plentifully stored with every material necessary for the provision and support of an army, than it has been for three years past. The defect lies in a want of proper means to draw them into public use. I cannot see how a remedy will be applied to this evil in the present management of finance. The wretched state in which that is involved, creates new obstructions, and an accumulation of expenses in every branch of the department.

Hitherto our principal difficulty has arose from a want of proper supplies of money, and from the inefficacy of that which we obtained; but now there appears a scene opening which will introduce new embarrassments. The Congress have recommended to the different States to take upon themselves the furnishing certain species of supplies for our department. The recommendation falls far short of the general detail of the business, the difficulty of adjusting which, between the different agents as well as the different authorities from which they derive their appointments, I am very apprehensive will introduce some jarring interests, many improper disputes, as well as dangerous delays. Few persons, who have not a competent knowledge of this employment, can form any tolerable idea of the arrangements necessary to give despatch and success in discharging the duties of the office, or see the necessity for certain relations and dependencies. The great exertions which are frequently necessary to be made, require the whole machine to be moved by one common interest, and directed to one general end. How far the present measures, recommended to the different States,

are calculated to promote these desirable purposes. I cannot pretend to say; but there appears to me such a maze, from the mixed modes adopted by some States, and about to be adopted by others, that I cannot see the channels, through which the business may be conducted, free from disorder and confusion.

It would be a folly for me to attempt to change the general disposition of mankind, or to flatter myself with the hopes of a different conduct from those who may be employed in the various branches of the department, than what is known to influence and govern men. If experiments are necessary, I have not the least objections to their being made; but I cannot agree to be responsible for the consequences. If government is distressed, and these expedients are requisite for her relief, my aid shall not be wanting, during my stay in the department, to give them a fair and full operation; but I cannot say that I think they will either answer the expectations of the public, or prove competent to the demands of the army.

It cannot be more disagreeable to your Excellency to receive, than it is to me to make, so unfavorable a representation. I have left no steps unattempted, that appeared calculated to put affairs on a more prosperous footing; and I have hoped that every succeeding account would be more promising than the last. I should betray my trust, were I to amuse your Excellency with hopes and encouragements; and I beg that this description of my department may not only be considered as justly drawn, but dictated by motives of duty, and aiming at the advantage of the public. I am, with great respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

NATHANAEL GREENE.



FROM MAJOR-GENERAL LINCOLN.

Charleston, 8 January, 1780.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

I was, a few days since, honored with your Excellency's favor of the 26th of October last, by Lieutenant-Colonel Ternant. I am too fully convinced of the utility of the new regulations, not to afford him every countenance and assistance in my power; and it will be my greatest attention to have the troops in this department formed on the plan adopted for the order and discipline of the army of the United States.

I hear, but have no official notice of it, that the Virginia line are ordered from the main army, to reinforce this department. If this should prove true, it will be fortunate indeed for this country, and, I think, exceedingly so for the United States and the cause in general; for it is such an attention to the safety of this people, that, if ever an idea has been formed and nourished among them that they were neglected by Congress, it must now be removed; besides the security it will afford to this State and Georgia.

By the last accounts I have received from Savannah, the enemy seem to be alarmed by the movements of the Spaniards; and, towards the end of the last month, sent off the sixty-eighth regiment to St. Augustine, and, some say, another small corps. What has been the fate of Mobile and Pensacola, is uncertain; by some accounts, we have reason to believe that they are in the hands of the Spaniards. This I have from a number of deserters; and it is since confirmed by Mr. Cowen, one of our officers who was lately exchanged and left Savannah. I think there cannot be a doubt but that such a report prevails

there; but what gave rise to it, I know not. Though I have not so full evidence in favor of the report, as gives me satisfaction respecting the truth of it, yet I have thought it necessary and my duty to give your Excellency this hint.

While I congratulate your Excellency on the success of the arms of the United States, in the department more immediately under your direction, I have to lament that so little has been done here, that we have nothing for our consolation, but that we have not permitted the enemy to run away with us. I have the honor to be, with the highest esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

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FROM ELERIDGE GERRY, IN CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, 12 January, 1780.

SIR,

The requisitions to the several States for reënforcements to the army, proposed in your letter of the 18th November last, are not yet adopted by Congress, and a fresh application from your Excellency appears to me necessary for promoting that important business. A report has been long since made on the subject, and been several times under the consideration of Congress; but an opinion has been lately suggested, and I fear with too much effect, "that the number of men enlisted for the war is already sufficient, and that reënforcements are not necessary for the army in this quarter." Should this sentiment prevail, or the requisitions be much longer delayed, we shall probably lay the foundation of an inactive

campaign, if not of greater misfortunes; and renew the uneasiness of the Court of France, who last year remonstrated in very friendly, but expressive terms, against the delays of our military preparations for that campaign. As the measures of our good ally for the establishment of our independence, as well as those of the common enemy against it, are prosecuted with the greatest vigor, it appears to me that we are urged by every principle of policy, generosity, and honor, to be equally vigorous and decisive, and I have been thus induced to trouble your Excellency on the subject.

I hope that the measures taken and such as are under the consideration of Congress, for obtaining supplies of provisions, will effectually relieve the wants of the army, which, I confess, distress me exceedingly. I am, Sir, with every sentiment of respect and esteem,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

ELBRIDGE GERRY.

FROM JOHN ARMSTRONG.

Carlisle, 12 January, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,

The present distressing aspect of our public affairs compels me to add to your Excellency's present troubles the reading of the following lines. About this time I hoped to have heard of your being in Philadelphia, and fully intended writing at some greater length than the haste of the bearer will now admit.

I need not take up the train, much less the causes, of our present most critical and dangerous situation. The flames of political destruction are en-

kindled all around us, and have made their formidable progress but too obvious even to common reflection; nor have I ever separated the great public concern from that peculiar degree of anxiety, which must possess your mind, on the languishing state of our finance. On the subtle subject of finance, my pretensions are truly small; but on the necessity of some different measures from any yet adopted, what man can shut his eyes? To say nothing of the various aerial schemes which have been thrown out, one thing is clear, that even such as have been tried, from their show of more reason and solidity, either from their being inadequate in their nature, or too late in their application, have palpably failed of the effect. For some time past we have resembled a patient far gone in disease, given up by his physicians, and left to the mere efforts of nature. Now, whether we shall proceed in this same natural, or rather slothful and timid way, leaving our internal commerce to regulate itself, and take chance for the event, or attempt the plain highway of law and public authority, in the regulation of prices generally, appears to be the question, and that without an alternative that can promise success.

The latter, however degraded by merchants, or exploded by some politicians of more refined sentiments, if I have any opinion at all, is the better, if not the only fundamental means of our political recovery. I know there are powerful objections to this doctrine of regulation of prices by law, or rather they are powerfully made; for, at this time I must in truth declare, I think their whole operation impertinent, inconclusive, and lost in the superior force of those arguments, which inevitably result from the present circumstances of this country; whereby the

great law of necessity is now clearly introduced for the trial of a legal regulation of prices, and must, at least, fully justify the experiment. I know the grand difficulties, as well as the niceties attending such regulations, must lie in the execution and penalties of this law. Hard they may be, but ought not to be supposed insurmountable. True, the virtue of the populace is very low, but not altogether extinct, the latent remains whereof must yet instrumentally save us. If so, how are we to animate these remains, when the natural springs thereof are so much relaxed? No other probable, or perhaps possible way, but by the salutary stimulus of public authority, and the encouragement they may derive from a near prospect of peace, or at least of retrenching the extra expenses of the civil staff of the army, which would naturally lead to some further observation; I mean such as arises on the remarks, sentiments, and temper of many people far out of your sight and hearing.

But now Colonel Davis waits with impatience, and obliges me to conclude. Your Excellency will easily conceive my design, in these hasty lines, arises from a wish that your helping hand may be put to this business, although out of your strict sphere of action, as it is to be apprehended that different sentiments on politics may obstruct the measure. I am, with great truth and respect, your Excellency's

Most obedient and affectionate humble servant,

JOHN ARMSTRONG.

P. S. I could sincerely wish the policy of Virginia, respecting their Land-Office and extent of territory, were otherwise timed, and more disinterested.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL LORD STIRLING.

Elizabethtown, 16 January, 1782.

Sir,

I have the honor to inform your Excellency that early yesterday morning the corps under my command crossed the sound at De Hart's Point, and proceeded towards the watering place. The enemy having received previous intelligence of our movements, a surprise was out of the question; and as their works were well situated, and appeared otherwise strong, an assault was deemed unadvisable, as it would probably have cost us more than we could have gained by success. We found, too, contrary to our expectation, that the communication between the Island and New York was open.

Immediately on our arrival in front of the enemy's works, they sent off a boat to the city; and in the evening several vessels came down from thence to the Island. As, from this circumstance, there was no hope of reducing them, for want of provision or fuel, and a reinforcement might have rendered our continuance dangerous, we determined to march off this morning. The retreat was effected in good order, and with very little loss. A party of the enemy's horse charged our rear-guard, under Major Edwards, but was immediately repulsed. The Major had three men killed, and killed one of the light horsemen, and took his horse. Some of the men were frost-bitten, and, though we took all the pains in our power to have all those unable to march transported in sleighs, yet I imagine a very few may have been left behind. We took a few prisoners, and had a few deserters from the enemy.

Immediately after crossing, a party was detached under Lieutenant-Colonel Willett, to Decker's Point. The corps there had been alarmed, and barely made its escape. The house (as a garrison place), and eight or nine small vessels near it, were burnt. A considerable quantity of blankets and other stores were found.

While the troops were upon the Island, a number of persons from this side took advantage of the occasion to pass upon the Island, and plunder the people there in the most shameful and merciless manner. Many of them were stopped on their return, and their booty taken from them; in addition to which, I have sent an order for publication, requiring those who had eluded the search, to restore the articles in their possession, and exhorting the good people at large to assist in detecting them. All the soldiery, on re-crossing the ice, were searched, and the little plunder they had, taken from them; and their names noted, that they may be brought to punishment. The articles recovered are and will be deposited with the Reverend Mr. Caldwell (who is exerting himself in the affair), to be returned to the owners. I am happy to inform your Excellency that a very inconsiderable part indeed of the troops dishonored themselves by participating in these enormities.

The officers and men, in general, showed a good disposition; and I only regret there was no opportunity of turning it to advantage. I have the honor to be, your Excellency's

Most obedient and humble servant,

STIRLING.



FROM THE CHEVALIER DE LA LUZERNE, MINISTER FROM  
FRANCE.

(Translation.)

Philadelphia, 23 January, 1780.

SIR,

Advices recently received from Europe, make mention of the efforts, which the English have made in Germany to procure recruits and new levies, and of the difficulty they have experienced, even on the part of those Courts with whom they have before treated. The greatest part of the German Princes, who have sold soldiers to the Court of London, now blush at these sales, which have excited their subjects against them, and which, besides, have drained their States. They are reluctant to give troops to a power that is making war against France, with whom they have always preserved amicable ties; and I am assured, that it is even doubtful whether the English will be able to procure a few recruits to complete the corps they have in America.

I am informed that these circumstances have determined the British Government to make every effort to obtain men in America, whom they cannot procure in Europe; and that Mr. Clinton has received orders to spare no pains to effect the exchange or deliverance of the troops of the Convention of Saratoga, and of other prisoners who are in the hands of the Americans. It is added, that the want of the Court of London for soldiers is so pressing, that General Clinton has been authorized to surmount all the difficulties which may arise in the negotiation of this exchange; and that he is even permitted, in case of absolute necessity, to treat with Congress, or their Ministers, on terms of perfect equality, and as with

an independent power. He has also equally full liberty to agree upon the number of private soldiers who may be given in exchange for an officer of any rank whatsoever; and they order him simply to remember, in treating of this matter, that an English soldier, transported to America, is of an infinite price to England, and they exhort him to employ all his efforts to bring about an exchange, whatever may be the conditions.

I hasten to communicate these interesting ideas to Congress; and I have learned that they were confirmed by the event, and that Major-General Phillips had in effect drawn on a negotiation, the progress of which had been entirely confided to your Excellency. They prayed me, at the same time, to send you a communication of these objects, which the Congress think ought greatly to influence the measures which it will be in your power to take, when you know that the English Commissioners have orders to pass over all difficulties, and to grant all the demands which may be made, rather than to lose the occasion of reënforcing the army they have upon this Continent.

I join to this some extracts, the contents of which have appeared to me of a nature to interest your Excellency. You will see, besides, Sir, by the despatch of the British Minister, with what affectation he seeks to make the Thirteen States to be considered as subjected to the English domination, and you will judge of what importance it is to you to treat with the Court of London upon the footing of perfect equality, and how useful an act of this nature may be to the negotiations of Congress in Europe, when they can add to all the facts, of which the Court of Madrid makes mention in its memoir, a car-

not regulated on the footing of perfect parity, and which would prejudge, beforehand, the question of your independence. I congratulate myself that this negotiation is in your hands; and I am well persuaded that nothing will pass derogatory to the part which my Court has taken, in acknowledging the independence and perfect sovereignty of the United States.

I shall intrust to your Excellency, that the King is disposed to send over succours to this Continent, of arms and ammunition; but, as the events of the sea are uncertain, I believe that it will be proper to make no change in the measures which may have been taken otherwise to procure them. This news not having reached me till yesterday, I have not yet been able to make a communication of it to Congress.

As you may be retained in your quarters by important considerations, I propose to go to pay you my respects in the course of the next month, and confer with your Excellency on objects of great importance, and relative to the measures necessary to push the next campaign with vigor, and to put the American army in a condition truly proper to hold the enemy in check upon the Continent, whilst his Majesty and the King of Spain shall display, in the other parts of the world, all their forces, to secure advantageous terms of peace to the allies.

I am, with respect, Sir,

LUZERNE.

P. S. This letter will be delivered to your Excellency by M. de Galvan, who has been raised to the rank of Major by your goodness. He desires to merit it anew, and prays me to solicit you to put his zeal in activity. I shall be very grateful for what

you may be pleased to do for him. He was particularly recommended to me by the Minister of France. He appeared to me to merit a great deal from his zeal, and from his personal attachment to your Excellency.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL LINCOLN.

Charleston, 23 January, 1780.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

I had, a few days since, the honor of your favor of the 12th ultimo, by Colonel Laurens, announcing that the Virginia line were ordered to this department, than which nothing could be more acceptable, saving that of their not being needed. Their speedy arrival is an event most ardently wished for.

By our late accounts from Philadelphia, and from a large ship being seen off this bar on the 10th, with troops on board, said to be from New York to Savannah, we are led to believe that the enemy will be early reënforced in Georgia. From that idea, and from a belief that this town will be the object which will claim their first attention, I have requested the Governor of this State to order into Augusta a number of his militia, to relieve the Continental troops there; all of which I mean to draw, as soon as possible, into such post as will facilitate their being thrown suddenly to a point.

I find myself greatly embarrassed to know what ground to occupy; for, if we draw them into this town or its vicinity, and the enemy should attempt the same route as the last year, we shall lose the advantages of opposing them at the several strong passes between this town and the Savannah. If we

should throw the troops near that river, from an idea that the enemy will cross it, and instead of that they should take shipping, and land between us and this town, they will shut us out of it; the consequence of which would, I think, be its loss. Besides, if we keep the troops near this town, and the enemy should land northward of the bar, they will, in that case, probably reach Haddrel's Point before us, and thereby Fort Moultrie will be in danger. If we divide our few troops, there will be danger that we shall be beaten in detachment.

It is, my dear Sir, among my first misfortunes, that I am not near enough to your Excellency to have the advantage of your advice and direction. But this I cannot enjoy. I feel my own insufficiency and want of experience. I can promise you nothing but a disposition to serve my country. If this town should be attacked, as now threatened, I know my duty will call me to defend it as long as opposition can be of any avail. I hope my inclination will coincide with my duty.

If the enemy mean seriously to attack this town, I think, previous thereto, they will have their emissaries in the back part of this country to stimulate the Indians, and the unfriendly, to acts of hostility. We have, therefore, to guard against their baneful influence as much as possible. For this purpose, it is necessary that we at all times keep a body of men in arms near the inland frontiers. I have requested the Governor of North Carolina, immediately on the attack of this town, to embody a number of militia, and march them towards the frontiers of his State, where there are many disaffected people; as they would not only quell any disturbance there, but, in case they should not be needed for that purpose,

they might march this way, and serve as a reënforcement to us.

Two of ours, and the French frigates, are going out to see what discoveries they can make. They would have gone sooner, but the French ships had not water over the bar, and ours were out of repair.

I have requested the Governor of Virginia to order shoes, stockings, and other clothing to be supplied the troops on their march, and that he would forward clothing here for their future supply. I wish, if you approve of the application, that you would support it.

I am very sorry that Colonel Laurens, after waiting a number of days, could not get a passage by water as he expected; for thereby, my letter to you, instead of being the first, was long detained, and the consequence was that you received the information of our raising the siege before Savannah from Congress, when you ought to have had it from me. Though I was in hopes that I had given too great evidence of my attachment to you, to believe that it was from a designed neglect, yet I could not so fully rely on the candor of the world, and was afraid that it would be construed to my disadvantage, and that some might attempt to persuade your Excellency that I have not really that attachment and esteem which I have always expressed. I hope no such attempt has been made, for nothing could be more injurious.

24th. Since I began this letter, what was before conjecture, is now nearly reduced to a certainty; namely, that the enemy mean a descent on this State, which probably will happen soon. Yesterday, a vessel was decoyed into this harbour, by a tender to our Continental frigates, bound from New York to

Savannah in company with a fleet of about ninety sail, bound to that port, convoyed by the following ships, namely:—three seventy-fours, three sixty-fours, one fifty-four, one forty, and one frigate; the Europe, Russel, Roebuck, Robust, Renown, Defiance, Romulus, and Perseus. She was separated from the fleet off Cape Hatteras, in a storm, about twenty days since. She has on board a few bales of clothing, some furniture, &c., but the whole, as it is said, of inconsiderable amount. Passengers in her, one Lieutenant and one Ensign in the British service, besides other passengers; and five privates in Robinson's corps.

This news has induced me to write to Governor Jefferson and Governor Caswell, requesting them to give every possible assistance to facilitate the march of the troops ordered from the main army to reënforce this. I have the honor to be, my dear General, with the greatest regard and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

Crane's Mills, 28 January, 1780.

SIR,

I arrived at Colonel Hazen's quarters the night before last; and yesterday, with him, visited the several posts, which I found to be Rahway, Crane's Mills, Connecticut Farms, Elizabethtown, and Newark. Elizabethtown and Newark are occupied by small detachments only, and guards are posted at De Hart's and Halsted Points. A small guard is also kept at the New Blazing Star from the post at Rahway.

In this situation the troops are as compact as, I



believe, the nature of the cantonment will allow, consistently with the objects in view; yet they are far from being so much so as could be wished. The distance these different places lie from one another, and the want of horse to communicate speedily any movements of the enemy, render it very easy to surprise one or other of the posts, particularly Rahway, which is only two miles from the Sound, and lies five miles from hence and five miles from the Blazing Star. The small detached guard at that place may be very easily taken off; and then their flank, and even their rear, is entirely open.

To cover effectually such an extent of country as from Newark to Amboy, in the present state of the ice, would require a very considerable body of troops; and the dispersing them in small bodies exposes them to many accidents, and greatly favors desertion, which, with much regret, I find has prevailed on these commands.

In Elizabethtown I found a four days' guard, consisting of one hundred men with a Field-Officer. This I reduced to a Captain and fifty, to be relieved daily, which I thought would answer every purpose that could be expected from the hundred, as they may, when on for one day only, be kept constantly alert, and half of them at a time patrolling during the night. Indeed, I believe good patrols would answer every purpose better than small guards; but, where the distance betwixt posts is considerable, they should be composed of horse. The guards at De Hart's and Halsted Points are certainly much exposed, and if the enemy suffer them to remain, it must arise from extreme caution, or their having something of more importance in contemplation, for I cannot suppose they want information of our position.

I have not yet been able to ascertain the enemy's number on Staten Island, or at Paulus Hook, but expect to-day to have pretty good accounts of the last, as also of the state of the ice on both the North and East Rivers; but from all that I can learn, and from the intelligence Colonel Hazen has received, their numbers on the Island amount to two thousand and upwards. The reënforcement, thrown in from New York, consisted of three regiments, supposed about seven or eight hundred men; part of them are cantoned, and part encamped about the middle of the Island. Intelligence is, however, very difficult to be obtained, and is not, in my opinion, in a good train; the person who seems to be most depended upon bearing a very bad character, and known to act as an agent for the enemy. Indeed, it will be almost impossible to get it into another train, unless the intercourse betwixt the inhabitants and the Island can be prevented; nor can a stop be put to the traffic carried on with the city, unless some other way of rewarding those we employ be fallen upon, than countenancing it in their favor.

Nothing has yet presented itself to induce any attempt upon the enemy which should at least have probability in its favor. Their advanced picket at

Mills might be taken off, but it is a trifling object, and the retreat of the party might be prevented. If any thing is to be done on the Island, it must, I believe, be by open force, which they seem to expect, as, from the information of a deserter, they are improving their works, and adding *abatis*, and keep their troops as close to them as possible. They are also constructing a new work with timber, on a hill that commands the redoubt at the watering place. There is, at present, an open passage to New

York, but it is frequently interrupted by the driving ice.

Doctor Burnet expected a trusty, intelligent person from New York last night, and I shall see him to-day. By him I expect the information your Excellency wishes with respect to the East River, and the situation of the enemy's vessels. If it favors Colonel Willett's enterprise, I shall desire him to wait upon your Excellency immediately. I find, by an order of General Tryon's of the 13th, that a number of bateaux are to be laid up at De Nuys's Ferry, at the Narrows.

I suppose Colonel Hazen has informed your Excellency of the attempt the enemy intended upon the detachment at Rahway, on Wednesday last, which was prevented by Colonel Gray's having obtained some notice of it. I cannot help repeating that horse are much wanted to give any degree of security to the cantonments; but, as one object is to cover and secure the inhabitants, they ought, some of them at least, to be furnished by the State, and if these were trusty, good men, acquainted with the country, they would make the best patrols possible. I believe, too, they would more effectually check the spirit of traffic than it will ever be done by the soldiery, who hold it, in some measure, a disreputable employment.

I wish I could give your Excellency any hint that might help to prevent or check the shameful desertion that prevails, and for which the troops of Pennsylvania, especially, have so little reason. It would, perhaps, answer a good end, whilst the ice continues firm, instead of detachments from the army, to send whole corps; the first to be taken from those lines where that vice has not crept in. By the time one

or two commands are completed, the communication will probably be more difficult.

I have inquired, of every person I thought could give me proper information, into the causes of our misfortune at Newark and Elizabethtown, and it appears to have been owing to negligence in not having the patrols out in proper time, and to their having fatigued themselves too much the night before; and it is certain, that the Captain had not a single vidette, nor even a sentry on the stable where his horses were. I am not quite satisfied whether your Excellency intended a formal inquiry, or that I should inform myself in the manner I have done. Nothing further occurs at present. If any intelligence of moment arrives, it shall be immediately communicated, and I will detain Colonel Hazen until I hear from your Excellency. I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

FROM BRIGADIER-GENERAL WAYNE.

Waynesborough, 4 February, 1780.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

I was so unfortunate as not to be acquainted with the intended attempt upon Staten Island; otherwise I certainly would not wish to be absent. But the misfortune I most regret is, that nature had not formed her bridge previous to the dissolution of the light corps; for, be assured, we remained some days, wishing and anxiously waiting for that event, after the state of our magazines, together with your orders, rendered a separation inevitable.

I am confident that your Excellency will do me

the justice to believe that, if any opening had offered to strike the enemy with a prospect of success, and where the object would have justified the attempt, not one moment would have been lost in asking your permission and final direction.

In addition to my former request respecting the command in the light corps, I beg to be employed on every occasion where your Excellency may think me worthy of trust, either as a volunteer, or in any other character that you may deem most conducive to the benefit of the service; and to believe me, with the truest esteem, your very affectionate, and

Most obedient, humble servant,

ANTHONY WAYNE.

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FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Morristown, 7 February, 1780.

SIR,

The inclosed copy of a representation from Colonel Barry, an Assistant Deputy-Quartermaster-General in this State, will show your Excellency that a new difficulty has arisen to delay transportation. It is very unfortunate that we should lose the advantage of this favorable term of conveyance, as the time is just at hand when it will be almost impossible to bring forward the supplies.

The inhabitants are unwilling to give their aid, at the prices regulated by law, unless the regulation extends through all the States. I do not consider myself authorized to instruct my agents to break over the laws of the State; and now find a stagnation in bringing on the provisions.

People will withhold their services in this State,

as long as they receive a less compensation than their neighbours. They seem to claim it as a right, that they be allowed their usual prices until the other States adopt measures for enforcing a regulation. I do not hear them object to have a limitation of prices take place; but they insist upon its not being binding on them till it is so on others. Your Excellency can foresee the consequences of the present difficulty, and will direct and authorize me in what manner to proceed. I am your Excellency's

Most obedient, humble servant,

NATHANAEL GREENE.

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FROM GOVERNOR JEFFERSON.

Williamsburg, 10 February, 1780.

SIR,

It is possible you may have heard that, in the course of last summer, an expedition was meditated by our Colonel Clark against Detroit; that he had proceeded so far as to rendezvous a considerable body of Indians, I believe four or five thousand, at St. Vincent's; but, being disappointed in the number of whites he expected, and not choosing to rely principally on the Indians, he was obliged to decline it. We have a tolerable prospect of reënforcing him this spring, to the number which he thinks sufficient for the enterprise. We have informed him of this, and left him to decide between this object and that of giving vigorous chastisement to those tribes of Indians whose eternal hostilities have proved them incapable of living on friendly terms with us. It is our opinion his inclination will lead him to determine on the former.

The reason of my laying before your Excellency this matter, is, that it has been intimated to me that Colonel Brodhead is meditating a similar expedition. I wished, therefore, to make you acquainted with what we had in contemplation. The enterprising and energetic genius of Clark is not altogether unknown to you. You also know (what I am a stranger to) the abilities of Brodhead, and the particular force with which you will be able to arm him for such an expedition. We wish the most hopeful means should be used for removing so uneasy a thorn from our side. As yourself alone are acquainted with all the circumstances necessary for well-informed decision, I am to ask the favor of your Excellency, if you should think Brodhead's undertaking is most likely to produce success, that you will be so kind as to intimate to us to divert Clark to the other object, which is also important to this State. It will, of course, have weight with you in forming your determination, that our prospect of strengthening Clark's hands sufficiently is not absolutely certain. It may be necessary, perhaps, to inform you, that these two officers cannot act together, which excludes the hopes of insuring success by a joint expedition. I have the honor to be, with the most sincere esteem, your Excellency's

Most obedient and most humble servant,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

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FROM MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

Highlands, 10 February, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,

In the following I shall give your Excellency a



state of facts relative to the late capture of Lieutenant-Colonel Thompson and part of his detachment, on the lines of this post, on the 3d instant.

Lieutenant-Colonel Thompson was at that time at Young's, near the White Plains; his detachment consisted of five companies. Captain Watson, of the third regiment, with his company, was at Young's house with the Lieutenant-Colonel. Captain Roberts, of the fifteenth regiment, and Captain Stoddard, of the first regiment, were on his right; their greatest distance about two miles. On his left were Captain-Lieutenant Farley, of the ninth regiment, and Captain Cooper, of the fourteenth regiment; their extreme distance rather greater than the companies' on the right. Pickets were advanced from each.

On the morning of the 3d instant, about nine o'clock, the Lieutenant-Colonel was informed that a body of the enemy's horse were advancing, and, at that time, about two and a half miles distant. Apprehending the enemy to be horse only, he determined to remain where he was, and sent to the several companies to join him. Soon after this, the enemy attacked his picket (a sergeant and eight men), who fired on the horse, which checked them. On which the picket attempted to join the body, but were overtaken by the horse, one or two of them wounded, and the whole taken prisoners. Not long after, the enemy's horse appeared in sight of the house. The Lieutenant-Colonel had been joined by Captain Roberts's company, who formed on the right. The enemy's horse halted at a distance, and discharged their rifles. Soon after, the infantry appeared, advancing to the front and right flank of our troops, who were now joined by Captain-Lieutenant Farley's company on the left; Captain Stoddard and Captain Cooper com-

ing up, one on the right, the other on the left. Our troops preserved their order, and did not fire until some time after the enemy began. When they received orders to fire, the enemy immediately scattered, availing themselves of trees and the ground, of which, it must be acknowledged, they very judiciously took the advantage, springing from one tree and place to another, and constantly gaining ground; their fire being directed both against the front and flank of our troops, and a number being killed and wounded, they broke, some retreating up the road, others into the house, from the doors and windows of which they fired on the enemy.

At this time, Captain Stoddard and Captain Cooper came up; the former gave the enemy two or three fires, but, the distance being great, probably did little or no execution. The horse, at this instant, were very active, and overtook several of our men who were making their escape. It is said our troops discovered great bravery, and fought well for about fifteen minutes, when the Lieutenant-Colonel was compelled to surrender. We had fourteen men killed on the spot, including Captain Roberts; and seventeen wounded, three of whom are since dead. Lieutenant-Colonel Thompson, of Marshall's, Captain Watson, of Greateon's, Captain Farley, of Wesson's, Lieutenant Burley, of Tupper's, Lieutenant Maynard, of Greateon's, Ensign Fowler, of Nixon's, and Ensign Bradley, of Sheppard's, with ninety non-commissioned officers and soldiers, were taken prisoners; nine of whom, who were wounded, were left by the enemy at a house some miles down the road.

The enemy set fire to Young's house, and soon retired, leaving two dead, and carrying off their wounded; among whom was a Captain of grenadiers, wound-

ed in the hip, and a Lieutenant of the infantry, in the thigh. Our troops immediately after went on to the ground, and buried the dead. The enemy's force is said to have consisted of about sixty horse, and forty of the refugees, and between four hundred and five hundred infantry, detached from different corps, including a part or the whole of the grenadier and light infantry companies of the guards. Colonel Emmerick was out as a volunteer, on foot, with his rifle, and was very active. Colonel Morton, of the guards, commanded the whole, and Colonel Delany was with the refugee horse.

11th. By two deserters, who left Fort Washington a few days since, I am informed that the enemy had at that place about one hundred and fifty sleighs, when they came away. The sleighs were employed in hauling wood. I am just now informed, by Colonel Badlam, who is on the advanced post, that a body of three hundred of the enemy's horse (probably part of these militia), and the seventh British regiment, came the last Monday from Long Island to Westchester on the ice, where they now are. Whether their taking post at Westchester is with offensive or defensive views, is uncertain; probably both. I have written Brigadier-General Poor to hold his brigade in the most perfect readiness for action, have patrols on the ice of Hudson's River, against Peekskill, and from the guard at , down towards Fort Montgomery. Every precaution is in exercise; and I trust the enemy will be disappointed, should they attempt to surprise us. I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

WILLIAM HEATH.

FROM COLONEL BRODHEAD.

Fort Pitt, 11 February, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,

I wrote you on the 10th and 22d of November, and on the 13th of December last, and not having been honored with a line in answer to either of those letters, I begin to fear you have not duly received them, wherefore I take the liberty to inclose duplicates. I likewise inclose the proceedings of a General Court-Martial on the trial of Lieutenant Arthur Gordon, Adjutant of the ninth Virginia regiment, and a return of the provisions in store.

I have not seen Colonel George Morgan since I came to this department; neither have I seen the Deputy Quartermaster-General since last March. I have not a tent for my men, and, by the inclosed return, you will see that the provisions are scanty; but I hope to be better supplied in the spring.

I have frequently given the most pointed orders respecting the public craft, notwithstanding which, the greatest part is, or will be, carried away with the ice. What I could retain at this place I did, and secured it by hauling it upon land. If the officers commanding at the different posts had taken the same care, little or none would have been driven off. Such a deep snow and such ice have not been known at this place in the memory of the oldest natives. Deer and turkeys die by hundreds for want of food. The snow on the Alleghany and Laurel Hills is four feet deep.

By one of our prisoners, who lately made his escape from the Wyandots, and who has frequently been at Detroit, I am informed that the new fort erected there has two bomb-proofs of wood; that the

walls are very high, fifteen feet thick, and made of fascines and clay : that the barracks are sunk some distance into the ground, and that their roofs cannot be seen from without ; that it stands on a fine commanding piece of ground, with a gentle descent each way : likewise that it is surrounded by a ditch twenty feet wide. The garrison consists of four hundred and fifty regulars, and the enemy have eighteen hundred men at Niagara, besides a great number of Indians. If this intelligence is true, unless some diversion is occasioned by troops marching up the Susquehanna River, it is not improbable that the enemy may pay us a visit down the Alleghany River next spring, and I have neither men nor cannon sufficient for this fort, unless a reënforcement can be spared from the main army. I shall, however, make the best disposition that circumstances will admit, and, if possible, gain further intelligence from the Delawares, who continue their declarations of friendship for us.

I beg your Excellency will indulge me with twenty boat-builders, and some armourers, early in the spring. If I receive no orders to the contrary, and can be supplied with craft, I am determined to drive the Shawanese over the Lakes, which I can do before provisions can be furnished for a capital expedition.

I shall now transmit an estimate of cannon and military stores to the Board of War, in hopes that, by the time they arrive at this place, I shall be enabled to do something worthy the confidence you have placed in me. With the most exalted regard and esteem, I have the honor to be, your Excellency's

Most obedient and most humble servant,

DANIEL BRODHEAD.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL LINCOLN.

Charleston, 12 February, 1780.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

I have received information that, on the 3d instant, the enemy landed about eight thousand troops, commanded by Sir Henry Clinton. If this is true, we may soon expect them before this town; for they probably know that we soon expect reënforcements.

*Two o'clock, P. M.* I have just received information that a large fleet is off. Matters are fast ripening, and will, I think, soon become very serious.

*Eight o'clock.* I am told that fifty sail of vessels got into North Edisto this day.

*February 13th, three o'clock in the morning.* By a person just from Edisto, I learn that the number of vessels in at the harbour there is a little short of fifty.

I am collecting the troops, and posting them in and near this town, saving the light-horse, and two hundred light troops. Those are in the southern part of the State, left with a view to hang on the enemy's left flank, should they attempt to march across land, and prevent the small parties strolling into the country, plundering, and distressing the inhabitants. I am, my dear General, with the highest esteem,

Your most obedient servant,

BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

FROM COLONEL JOHN LAURENS.

Charleston, 14 February, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,

I should have done myself the honor of writing to



you earlier, but postponed my intention in hopes of obtaining satisfactory intelligence of the force and designs of the enemy in this quarter. Although my expectations are far from being answered, I must entreat your Excellency's acceptance of what I have been able to collect on those subjects, lest the expected siege prolong my silence beyond the proper bounds.

The day before yesterday, we had certain intelligence of the arrival of forty-five sail at North Edisto. A debarkation immediately commenced on Simmons's Island; and an advanced corps, it is said, of five hundred, proceeded the following day to John's Island. The Vigilant and two galleys are at Port Royal. Private accounts say that General Prevost is left to command at Savannah; that his troops consist of the Hessians and Loyalists that were there before, reënforced by a corps of blacks and a detachment of savages. It is generally reported that Sir Henry Clinton commands the present expedition. It appears to me to be the British policy to transfer the theatre of the war to this vulnerable part of the Continent; and, should their Commander-in-chief be here, I hope you will do him the honor to meet him. The command of your winter-quarters might very well be left to a Major-General, and the appearance of your Excellency, in person, would produce such effects as would decide the American contest. The Carolinians, as usual, have been superior to foresight and precaution. The delay of the enemy produced no other effect than to increase their supineness, and finally to introduce a disbelief of the enemy's intentions. But they begin to be roused.

My father desires his most respectful compliments to your Excellency and Mrs. Washington. He has



been detained here by M. Durumain's having taken French leave. This gentleman, who commanded the French frigate in this harbour, engaged to accommodate my father with a passage to France, but previously undertook a cruise in company with our American frigates. As soon, however, as he had passed the bar, he made the best of his way for Europe. A brace of two-deckers and a frigate are constantly standing off-and-on our harbour; but my father is determined, at all hazards, to prosecute his voyage, and fulfil his engagements to the public.

I preferred a hasty letter to a total silence; your Excellency will be so indulgent as to excuse me for it, and assure Mrs. Washington of my respects. I have the honor to be, with the greatest veneration and attachment,

Your Excellency's faithful Aid,  
JOHN LAURENS.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL LINCOLN.

Charleston, 4 March, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,

Sir Harry seems to be collecting his force on James's Island, and is there throwing up some works; one among the ruins of Fort Johnson, another a little to the westward of it. It is said that he is also throwing up a bomb-battery opposite the town. Drawing his principal force to this Island, hauling his galleys and other armed vessels of small draught of water near the mouth of Wappoo, collecting a number of boats there, indicate that an attempt on the southerly part of the town, by boats, will be made. It is pretty evident that he means to introduce his

ships into the harbour, which I find he may effect with more safety than I once supposed he could; for our frigates, which it was thought could lie before the bar, so as to command the entrance of it, appear to draw too much water for the purpose, and cannot anchor with safety nearer to it than three miles, and there they are liable to be annoyed from the shore; and the channel is so narrow that they cannot anchor in line of battle. It is the opinion of all the Captains of the ships, that they can render more essential services by lying abreast, and acting in conjunction with Fort Moultrie, than by taking any other post.

General Hogan's arrival, last night, gives great happiness and spirit to the garrison; for we were before, and are now, much too weak; we have but very little support from the country militia of this State: there are but about two hundred of them in town, and it will be with difficulty that they will be brought into it, notwithstanding the exertions of the executive. The spirit with which they are conducting themselves, your Excellency will learn by the inclosed proclamation.

The southern part of the State is exposed to the immediate incursions of the enemy, and to the depredations of the Tories. This, at present, keeps a number of men in that part in arms, to protect their families and property, which they say cannot be removed. In the middle part of the country most of the inhabitants are disaffected, and a few days since were in arms, and killed a number of people. This forbids any troops being drawn from that part of the country; force might be sent into it. The frontiers of the State are obliged to arm to restrain the savages, and for the defence of themselves, and the up-

per part of Georgia. The Eastern Shore is left for the defence of Georgetown and the sea-coast.

Governor Caswell has, in the most pointed terms, ordered on the whole of the late drafts of three thousand. About one third of them are arrived, and he has directed two thousand more to embody near the bounds of the northerly part of this State, to act in either State, as circumstances may require. I was in hopes General Scott would have been here before now, but I cannot learn that he has yet left Petersburg.

Our works are constantly going on, and matters every day grow better. The people are recovering their spirits, and have now high expectations. I have the honor to be, my dear General, with the highest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Morristown, 6 March, 1780.

SIR,

Inclosed I send your Excellency a copy of my last letter to Congress, to which they have given no answer, and which necessarily involves very important consequences.

The affairs of the Quarter-master's department are so intimately connected with the operations of the army, and the security, support, and movements of the latter so dependent on the former, that I think it my duty to give your Excellency the earliest information of every change and embarrassment in it, which may affect the service. This measure is neces-

say, not only for the public welfare, but for my own justification.

Although I esteem it a peculiar misfortune to be reduced to the necessity of taking steps tending to my own justification, yet when I have not that support which was promised me by the Committee of Congress, when I engaged in the duties of the office, and which was and still is necessary to the order and management of the business, I have nothing left but to point out the causes of the failure. And I trust, when my conduct comes to be fully understood, and the business of the department stripped of vulgar prejudices and private enmity, it will be found to have been both prudently and honestly conducted. I shall not enter into a justification of all the detail of the business. I know it is too extensive for the wisdom of an angel to guard against every imposition. I am not chargeable for such evils, where the misfortune originates in the plan of the war and the state of the finances. Though I cannot pretend to be responsible for the fidelity, discretion and prudence of every agent employed in the lesser branches of business, yet I presume the much greater part of every order are men of integrity, and some of them are the first characters for business upon the Continent. One thing I will venture to affirm with confidence, which is, that every exertion has been made by all the agents to promote the service in general, and to fulfil your Excellency's orders in particular, as far as the means in their hands or their personal credit or influence could be extended for the purpose.

The crisis is now fast approaching, when there will be a general stagnation of business, as some of the deputies have already left the department, and others preparing to follow their example. Some have adver-

tised to stop all purchases on the public account, for want of money to fulfil the contracts; others will be reduced by necessity to do the like. Transportation cannot be kept up for want of money to pay those employed in that service; and even those teams, which serve with the brigades, begin to refuse further service, unless they are paid for the past.

Thus we seem to be threatened with distress and ruin on every side. I shall continue to give every aid to the business in my power, but it must sink under its own weight, unless it is better supported than it has been for months past. I am, with great respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,  
NATHANAEL GREENE.

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FROM PHILIP SCHUYLER.

Philadelphia, 6 March, 1780.

SIR,

In the letter, which I had the honor to address your Excellency on the 15th ultimo, from Saratoga, I proposed personally to have explained myself to Congress on the subject of the appointment of the 21st of January last. But reflecting that, notwithstanding the entire confidence I entertain in the honor and candor of every individual member of Congress, it is nevertheless possible, that, through want of perspicuity in expressing myself, or misapprehension in others, what I may verbally deliver on the subject may be unintentionally construed, or repeated, in a manner widely different from my intentions,—this consideration induces me to convey my determination in writing.

Every reflection, Sir, I have made, since the receipt of your Excellency's letter of the 24th January last, on the appointment mentioned in it, has confirmed the conclusion I very early drew, that I could not, consistently with my honor and reputation, accept of any employment under Congress, in a station either less honorable or less important than that which I once had the honor to hold; and, when the circumstances which led to my quitting the army shall recur to Congress, I trust they will acquiesce in the propriety of this determination on my part.

I do not mean, Sir, to convey the most distant idea, that I solicit a restoration to the rank and place I held in the army; for, although it is true that I quitted it with reluctance, and that I have often since lamented that I was drove to the necessity of doing it, yet the delicacy I entertain with respect to the feelings of others, who might possibly conceive themselves injured by a perfect restoration of my rank, added to other considerations, have induced me to lay aside every wish for a reappointment. But, Sir, as I am incapable of withholding any services my country may deem me capable of rendering; as a reform in the civil departments of the army is of the highest necessity, and as Congress have thought proper to apply to me for my aid on the occasion, permit me to tender them an offer of my services, as a member of their House, on a Committee to consult with the Commander-in-chief, and the Heads of the several civil departments of the army, and to adopt such measures as will have a probable tendency to complete the great object of the resolutions of the 21st January. As a member of such a Committee, I should esteem it my duty to visit every part of the Continent, for the purpose of

introducing good order and a proper economy, and should deem myself fully rewarded for every possible exertion, in the success of the business, and in the approbation of Congress. I am, &c.

PHILIP SCHUYLER.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL ARNOLD.

Philadelphia, 6 March, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

I am requested, by the Board of Admiralty, to inform your Excellency that they have in contemplation an expedition with several of their frigates, which will require three or four hundred land forces to act in conjunction, and who may act as marines when on board, which will obviate the great difficulty of procuring men for the ships. They wish to be informed if the men can be spared from the army. They will be wanted to embark (probably at New London) by the middle of April, for an expedition of about two months. If seamen can be drafted, they will be much preferable to other troops.

From the injury I have received in my leg, and the great stiffness in my ankle, my surgeons are of opinion it will not be prudent for me to take a command in the army for some time to come. As I wish to render my country every service in my power, I have offered the Board to take the command of the expedition, provided it is agreeable to your Excellency, and the men can be spared from the army; in which case, I shall soon have the honor of laying the plan before your Excellency, and believe you will think it an object of importance.

I have just received a letter from Major Clark-



son, dated Charleston, January 30th, who writes me, that "the fleet which sailed from New York in December, are certainly arrived and arriving at Savannah; their force uncertain, but very large." Two of our frigates have captured a brigantine, with clothing, and two sloops, with dragoons of Lord Cathcart's legion, who have saved only two horses of forty-five. The fleet were dispersed in a few days after they sailed, and greatly injured by several storms.

I suppose your Excellency will receive particular information from Congress. I have the honor to be, with great respect and esteem, your Excellency's

Affectionate and obedient humble servant,

BENEDICT ARNOLD.

*March 20th.* Dear Sir.—The foregoing is a copy of a letter I did myself the honor of writing your Excellency, which went by express the day it was wrote, from Colonel Mitchel's office. As a fortnight has elapsed, and I have not been favored with an answer, I conclude the letter has miscarried; I therefore take the liberty of sending a copy. If the service will not admit of a draft of men from the army, the expedition must, of course, be declined, as there is not the least probability of manning the ships without; in which case, I must request of your Excellency a leave of absence for the ensuing summer, or until my wounds are so well as to admit my riding and walking with some degree of ease, and, of course, being able to take the command of a division in the army.

Your Excellency will believe I should not ask this indulgence, could I, with justice to myself or country, take a command in the condition I am at present. My surgeons flatter me that a voyage to sea,

and bathing frequently in salt water, will be of great service in strengthening my leg, and relaxing the muscles, which are greatly contracted, and thereby rendering it more useful.

Mrs. Arnold yesterday presented me with a son. She joins me in best respects to Mrs. Washington. I have the honor to be, very sincerely and affectionately, your Excellency's

Most obedient and very humble servant,

BENEDICT ARNOLD.\*

FROM PHILIP SCHUYLER.

Philadelphia, 7 March, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

I arrived on Sunday, but did not take my seat in Congress until this morning, as I deemed it prudent previously to address them on the subject of their appointment of the 21st January, which I did by letter; a copy whereof I have the honor to inclose for your Excellency's perusal. I believe there is a determination not to accept of any services I may be able to render them, in the line in which I have offered them. Many here affect not to see the propriety of the distinction I have drawn; but I shall be satisfied if the candid and ingenuous, who are not always a majority, in or out of doors, shall discover that it is not one without a difference.

\* In a letter to Silas Deane, dated March 22d, General Arnold wrote;—"I have proposed to the Board of Admiralty an expedition, which will require three or four hundred land forces, to act in conjunction with the ships. The matter rests with General Washington. If men can be spared, and my plan takes place, you will hear from me soon. If it should not, I propose going to Boston, with the intention to take the command of a private ship."

The measure I proposed to General Greene, the moment before I parted with him, I learnt, on my arrival, had already been decided upon as unnecessary, and I was confidentially advised that it would be in vain to urge it. I must, therefore, forbear, however strongly impressed with its importance.

I do not advise you of the intelligence from Carolina, as General Lincoln will probably be more full on the subject than I can be. The Minister has a letter from an agent, in which he informs the former, that part of the British were destined *pour les Antilles*.

I believe it will be necessary for General Greene to address Congress very pointedly on the subject of the wagoners, as I find a disposition in many to have them drawn from the army. The reasons why they should not, if even the army would after all be sufficiently in force, will be obvious to him, and I wish him to adduce them fully, to corroborate what I shall deliver on the subject before his letter arrives.

Our finances are completely deranged. A Committee of the Whole have had them under consideration, for some time before my arrival. They have been on the business to-day, without making any progress. It seems a paradox, that the whole should be more incompetent than a part; but I am so perfectly persuaded of it, that I shall strive to get it referred to a few. I have thrown together my ideas on the subject. How they will be accepted I must leave to time; though I believe some good would result, if they were adopted.

Be so good as to entreat your lady to accept of my best respects; and to believe that I am most sincerely, with those sentiments of affection and esteem,

which afford an ingenuous mind the most sensible of all satisfactions,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,  
 PHILIP SCHUYLER.

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FROM LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JOHN LAURENS.

Charleston, 14 March, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,

The enemy's present disposition of his force, and all his late operations, indicate a design to attack Charleston by a siege in form. To complete the investiture, he must introduce his ships of war into the harbour. That it is his intention, appears from his fixing buoys on the bar, barricading his ships' waists, and anchoring them in a station where they may embrace the first favorable spring tides to enter. His transports and store-ships have removed from Edisto up Stono River, where they lie contiguous to Wappoo Cut, which is the water communication from thence to Ashley River. At a point of the mainland, formed by the issuing of the former into the latter, he raised, in the course of a night, the 11th instant, a battery of six embrasures. This situation, naturally advantageous, he will probably render very strong, and establish in it his deposit of military stores and provisions. He then may either force a passage over Ashley River, or turn it by a circuitous march, fortify a camp on the Neck, and open his trenches. The best communication between his magazines and camp will be across Ashley River, from a bluff, marked Bull, in your large map.

Your Excellency will have learnt that the Commodore and all his officers renounce the idea of defend-

ing the passage of the bar; they declare it impracticable for the frigates to lie in a proper position for that purpose. The Government has neglected to provide floating batteries, which might have been stationed there; so that it has been agreed, as the next best plan, to form a line of battle, in such a manner as to make a cross-fire with Fort Moultrie; a shoal, called the Middle Grounds, being on the right of the ships, and the fort advanced of the left. As it would be the enemy's policy, with a leading wind and tide, to pass the fire of the fort, and run aboard of our ships, the Commodore is contriving an obstruction, which he thinks will check their progress, and allow time for the full effect of our fire.

The impracticability of defending the bar, in the first instance, appears to me a great diminution of our means of defence. We must not only have a greater number of shipping below, and consequently withdraw them from flanking the enemy's approaches on the Neck, but are subject to the chances of a combat, which, in the other case, were out of the question. The Commodore has destroyed one set of the enemy's buoys, and I hope he will cut away such as may have been since put down, and order the galleys to give all possible annoyance to the enemy's ships in the act of entering.

The attention of the Engineers has been distracted by different demonstrations on the part of the enemy, and they have not perfected the line across Charleston Neck. Henceforward I hope they will confine themselves solely to completing it, and then proceed to the construction of some interior inclosed works, to prolong the defence.

As the enemy is determined to proceed by regular approaches, all his operations are submitted to calcu-

lation, and he can determine, with mathematical precision, that with such and such means, in a given time, he will accomplish his end. Our safety, then, must depend upon the seasonable arrival of such reinforcements as will oblige him to raise the siege. The Virginia line is much more remote than we could have thought it would have been, at this moment. Your Excellency, in person, might rescue us all. Virginia and North Carolina would follow you. The glory of foiling the enemy in his last great effort, and terminating the war, ought to be reserved for you. Whatever fortune attends us, I shall, to my latest moments, feel that veneration and attachment, which I always had for your Excellency; and I beg leave to continue to subscribe myself,

Your faithful Aid,

JOHN LAURENS.

P. S. I entreat your Excellency's pardon for transmitting the annexed letter, in its present imperfect state. It was a sketch, which I intended to have put in better form, if time had permitted.

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FROM COLONEL ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

Amboy, 17 March, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

I duly received your letter of the 14th, and shall not fail, in conjunction with General St. Clair, to attend to the military object of it.\* I am much oblig-

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\* General St. Clair, Colonel Carrington, and Colonel Hamilton had proceeded to Amboy on the 9th instant, to meet British Commissioners, for the purpose of settling a general cartel for the exchange of prisoners. Washington's Writings, Vol. VI. p. 483.

ed to your Excellency for the communication of your southern advices. The enemy are still in the dark about their fleet and army gone that way, as we gather from the Commissioners. They pretend to have little European news, though a vessel arrived two or three days since from England, after ten weeks' passage. We send you some late New York papers. The Commission has been several days at an end. The enemy, as was supposed, had no idea of treating on national ground. We are now in private conversation, and so far not without hopes that the liberation of our prisoners will be effected on admissible terms. Two or three days more will probably put an end to the interview. General St. Clair and Colonel Carrington beg their respects may be presented to your Excellency. I have the honor to be, very respectfully and affectionately,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

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FROM COLONEL BRODHEAD.

Fort Pitt, 18 March, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,

The savages have already begun their hostilities. Last Sunday, they killed five men at a sugar camp upon Raccoon Creek, in Youghiogany county, and took prisoners three girls and three lads. It is generally conjectured that the Delawares perpetrated this murder; but it is possible it may have been done by other Indians. If the Delaware nation should declare against us, this frontier will be greatly distressed; as many other nations, who have hitherto been neutral, will join them, and my force is by no means



sufficient to protect the settlements. I have inclosed to the Adjutant-General a return of the troops for the month of February, since which near to fifty men have been discharged from the ninth Virginia regiment, and many more will expect their discharges very soon.

I have lately been favored with a letter from Colonel Clark, declaring his readiness to coöperate with me in any measure I shall undertake, either for the reduction of one of the enemy's posts, or against the Indian towns. He is now at the Illinois, and will be considerably reënforced in the course of this spring. He proposes throwing up some works at the mouth of the Ohio River. If your Excellency can possibly spare a small reënforcement of well-appointed regular troops for this district, I will pledge my honor to be as active as circumstances and situation will admit.

I am exceedingly anxious to receive a line from you; and have the honor to be, with the most perfect regard and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

DANIEL BRODHEAD.

FROM BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

Passy, 19 March, 1780.

SIR,

I beg leave to introduce to your Excellency's acquaintance and civilities, Monsieur le Chevalier De Chastellux, Major-General in the French troops, now about to embark for America, whom I have long known, and esteemed highly in his several characters of a soldier, a gentleman, and a man of letters. His excellent book, on *Public Happiness*, shows him the

friend to mankind, and, as such, entitles him, wherever he goes, to their respect and good offices. He is particularly a friend to our cause, and I am sure your Excellency will have great pleasure in his conversation. I have the honor to be, with great respect, your Excellency's

Most obedient and most humble servant,

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

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FROM MAJOR-GENERAL LINCOLN.

Charleston, 24 March, 1780.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

Since my last, the enemy have, very unexpectedly, brought over the ships mentioned in the inclosed paper. It has been thought there was not water enough for a sixty-four gun ship. Before they came into the harbour, it was determined to form a line of battle across the channel, with our ships, to act in conjunction with Fort Moultrie; but afterwards, as the enemy were so vastly superior to our force, it was thought best to remove our ships up to the town in Cooper River, and land their heavy cannon and men. We are endeavouring to obstruct the channel from the town to Shute's Folly. If we should succeed, great good will result from the measure, as thereby we shall prevent the enemy from running up that river, and cutting off our communication with the country on the east.

The enemy are extending their works on Ashley River, from the mouth of Wappoo, with a design to cover their stores, which they can land near the first work, at the mouth of the creek, and remove them a mile or two across land to the head of another creek,

which empties into the Ashley, where they have a work also, which is opposite a good landing on this side. I think they will throw their troops across above, take post at this landing, and then transport their stores, which will save them a very long land carriage.

I lament, most sincerely, that, from the want of a sufficient power, we cannot oppose their passing this river, which might easily be effected, and oblige the enemy to take a circuit of forty miles. General Woodford is not yet arrived. By his letter of the 6th instant, he informs me that his troops would leave Petersburg the day after. His numbers, by some means or other, are greatly reduced. By his return, he has only seven hundred and thirty-seven fit for action.

General Scott informs me that he is coming on without the remainder of his troops. *Want of clothing is the cause.* A few of them have been persuaded to take care of General Woodford's baggage. Many of the North Carolina militia, whose times have expired, leave us to-day. They cannot be persuaded to remain longer, though the enemy are in our neighbourhood.

General McIntosh received, a few days since, a resolve of Congress, founded on a letter from the Governor of Georgia, and one from the Speaker of the Assembly of that State, purporting that he had lost the confidence of the people; in which resolve he is suspended from acting in the Southern department. I have not only to lament the loss of so good an officer, but that Congress have so suddenly come into a resolution, which must wound the feelings of an old servant of the United States, and who, by the war, is reduced from a state of great affluence to

that has a little removed from beggary. He has the command of the country militia of this State, now in ~~command~~. I have the honor to be, my dear General, with the highest esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL BARON STEUBEN.

Philadelphia, 28 March, 1780.

MY DEAR GENERAL.

The propositions I made to Congress, respecting the formation of the army, of which I had the honor of transmitting your Excellency a copy, remain yet on their table, without any decision thereon. They have, however, set aside the report of the Board of War on a motion for reducing the battalions, as you will perceive by the resolve annexed, so that all reduction or incorporation is now out of the question; and for next campaign the regiments in the line will be augmented more or less by the respective States. What is to be done with the additional regiments and the cavalry, Congress cannot or will not decide; though I am rather led to believe their delay in this matter proceeds from the grand cause of all our misfortunes, the bad state of our finances, which will not allow the recruiting of men, or purchasing of ~~horses~~.

I observed to you, my dear General, in my last, that every wheel of the machine seemed stopped. Of the truth of this observation I become more and more convinced, and must confess, that to me our situation appears very critical. The late resolves respecting the money, though attended with all the

success that can be wished, cannot make any immediate alteration for the better. Some months must elapse before their good effects will be felt; and, during this time, we are disabled from doing any thing, whilst, at this very moment, the greatest exertions are necessary.

My anxiety for our Southern affairs, I cannot help saying, is considerably increased by the last accounts, which seem to announce a determination of General Lincoln to defend Charleston with all his force; this, to me, appears to be playing a hardy game.

Another danger which threatens us, and which is much to be dreaded, is the declared division between Virginia and Pennsylvania; the latter State having actually passed a law for the raising fifteen hundred men to defend their pretended rights. All these things offer but a dull prospect, rendered still more dull by the cabals and factions which reign among us. The civil departments of the army, at a time when their whole attention should be taken up in providing for the approaching campaign, are in such a state of dissatisfaction and confusion, that I am very apprehensive they will make things still worse than they are.

You will perhaps think, my dear General, that I am in anxiety for things which are out of my sphere; but when you consider that all my happiness depends on our success, you will not blame me for the interest I take in the cause. The same motives make me apprehensive that the necessary arrangements will never be firmly established without your personal assistance; and I submit to you, my dear General, whether your presence is not absolutely necessary at Congress, in the present critical situation of our affairs. Your right to the confidence, both of Congress

and the people, is too well founded not to command the greatest attention to every thing you propose. The time is precious, and the prospect before us threatening. Your presence will animate our counsels, as it does our armies. My attachment to the cause, and the respectful confidence I have in your person, induces me to express, in the strongest terms, the desire I have to see you here. I have the honor to be, your Excellency's

Most obedient and very humble servant,

STEUBEN.

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FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Philadelphia, 31 March, 1780.

SIR,

Your Excellency's public and private letters, of the 26th, were handed me day before yesterday, and I wish it had been in my power to have given them an earlier answer; but the difficulty of satisfying myself, in all the matters contained in your letter, has prevented it.

Many people are apprehensive for the fall of Charleston; and I think it in jeopardy, as well as the troops under Lincoln's command. I am more anxious for the fate of the troops than the city. Should they both fall together, in this critical stage of our finance, it is difficult to determine what will be the consequences. Most people seem to agree, that a further detachment of troops from this army cannot add any safety to the city, as its fall must be decided long before the troops can get up. Governor Reed, Generals Schuyler, Scott, and Wayne, are all of this opinion, as well as Mr. Sherman, and the Massachusetts Dele-

gates; and this is clearly my opinion. But Colonel Grayson, and, I believe, the Board of War in general, are of opinion that a detachment ought to be sent on immediately, as they are apprehensive the city will fall, and the enemy push on to the northward. Should this happen, a proper force can be detached seasonably hereafter, as it cannot make but a few days' difference whether they march now, or when the fall of the city shall be decided. If the enemy are defeated, the detachment ought not to go; and if they are not, it is already too late to give timely succour to the place.

The business of finance is yet a matter of mere speculation. Nothing can be determined upon it from the present appearances. Most people are silent upon the subject; and this I interpret into a favorable symptom. I find the measure passed in Congress but by a majority of one, and the members are more split and divided about the matter now, than any other order of men; indeed, some of them reprobate the measure. I perfectly agree with your Excellency in sentiment, that it is the duty of every well-wisher to the cause to give all the support in his power to the plan, now it is taken. For the measure will entail just as much disgrace upon us if it does not proceed, as if it does; and, if the plan fails, I am at a loss to conceive how we are to support the war. Public and private credit is almost at an end.

Nothing is done in the Quarter-master's department. The new system I mentioned in my last, is yet undecided on. The more I view it, the less I like it, and the stronger my conviction is, that it is calculated not less to embarrass your Excellency than to disgrace and injure me. Mifflin and Pickering are gone to Reading; and Mifflin has got the Massa-



Monroe Delegates into his house, in town, upon very moderate terms, and, it is said, with a view of strengthening himself in that quarter. Depend upon it, he has a scheme, in concert with others.

Public business is in a wretched train. All things at a stand; and I don't believe the great departments of the army will be organized for a month to come, unless the new system is adopted, which will starve and disband the army in half the time.

Generals Schuyler and Scott think it a most paltry thing. What I had in contemplation as a system, I am persuaded is the only plan which will yield proper support to the army, and coöperate with your Excellency's military manœuvres. An army is viewed in Congress as a city, which may be supported and provided for, without regarding the emergencies of service. That body seem to be insensible of the great difference there is, in their public estimation, betwixt now and four years ago, not only among individuals, but with the States in general; and, instead of strengthening their influence by a just and generous conduct to individuals, they add insult to injury. A political body, that acts upon such barbarous maxims of policy, cannot fail to bring ruin and distress upon the people, as no honest man, that has a regard for his reputation, would feel himself in the power of such people. Conscious of my own integrity, as well as faithful attention to the business committed to my trust, I cannot help feeling an honest indignation at the little arts made use of to lessen my merit and create suspicions to my prejudice. As I was placed in the office I now hold by your Excellency's particular request, and as you are the only person who can do me ample justice, I flatter myself I may safely rest my reputation with you, to place

me in that point of light which justice and equity demand.

It is the wish of many here, that your Excellency should come to town; and, I am persuaded, you would have it in your power to settle and arrange many matters, which, for want of being done, every thing is in a train the most ruinous and distressing imaginable. All our public horses in this State are starving. Hundreds have been drove into this city from the country, because the people refuse to keep them any longer. From the distressed situation the Forage department is in, I am afraid the most of our horses, if not all, will be altogether unfit for opening the campaign. After this day, we shall not have an ounce of forage in this city. This, I must confess, would not grieve me much, were we well provided elsewhere; but, alas! we are in just the same wretched situation in every quarter. People may sometimes be convinced by feeling, when they cannot by reasoning.

I am very apprehensive we shall lose a great part of the articles we have manufacturing, as the people will not deliver them without payment. What grieves me most, is the loss of several hundred fine new wagons, which were in great forwardness, and on which we depended for the opening campaign.

There is no arrival, or foreign news. We learn here, by the way of New York, that Clinton was to attack Charleston on the 15th of this month.

I thank your Excellency for the information respecting Mrs. Greene, and desire my compliments to Mrs. Washington. With great respect, I am,

Your Excellency's obedient servant,

NATHANAEL GREENE.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Philadelphia, 2 April, 1780.

SIR,

I am sorry it has not been in my power to give your Excellency an earlier answer to your letter of the 26th ultimo. The subject is a matter of such moment, that, although it required despatch, yet the delay must be less injurious than a want of full information to decide with certainty.

It is not less mortifying to me, than unhappy for the public interest and national security, that circumstances oblige me to confess myself unable, for want of sufficient support, either to make the proper provision in my department, necessary for marching the troops to the southward, or for putting the army in motion in these Northern States. There would be no difficulty, either in the one case or the other, could the treasury furnish the proper supplies of cash. But in its present exhausted state, with the enormous demands upon the department, the agents have neither credit nor influence equal to the business.

Orders were seasonably issued for an ample provision for the opening campaign. Many are in part executed, and might be easily completed, were the agents enabled to fulfil their contracts. But the manufacturers, for want of payment, will neither go on with the business, nor deliver what they have completed. And though the loss of these articles will be a capital injury to the public, as well in point of saving in expense as that of accommodating the army, yet there is not the remotest prospect of obtaining cash, seasonably, to prevent the misfortune.

I have given general and particular orders to the agents, to collect from the manufacturers as many of

the articles contracted for as possible, and to hold them in readiness for further orders. But the people have suffered so much by the depreciation of the money, that they will not part with their property without immediate payment. In this predicament are the stores manufacturing for public use; what part we shall be able to obtain, is difficult to determine.

The public horses, which are quartered about in different parts of the country, are suffering for want of forage; and I am afraid many will perish, before the States, under the new requisition, will provide amply for their support. But, could the whole be made fit for service at the opening of the campaign, which will by no means be the case, the number would be very insufficient to answer the demands of the army. I am, with great respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,  
NATHANAEL GREENE.

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FROM PHILIP SCHUYLER.

Philadelphia, 5 April, 1780.

MY DEAR SIR,

On the 3d instant I was favored with your Excellency's letter of the 30th ultimo. I have, for ten days successively, deferred writing, in hopes that I should have been able, at last, to have advised you that public business was closely attended to in this quarter, and that we had adopted measures to disencumber us from that variety of embarrassment we experience; but, alas! we have made little or no advances.

Mifflin, Pickering, Jones, and General Sherman, have furnished the first part of a voluminous system

for the Quarter-master's department. The second part is to direct the Commissary-General of Issues in the discharge of his duty; and the third will point at the regulations for the Hospital. I do not mention the Purchasing department, because that is to be abolished; the States are to do all. As General Sherman roundly asserts, that system will strike off four thousand officers from the civil departments. As it is, replete with absurdity, it will pass into a law, unless it should be thought proper to confer with the Commander-in-chief on the subject. There has been some wicked work, respecting a certain appointment, which General Greene will advise you of verbally.

The gentleman I have last mentioned addressed Congress, in a letter of the 3d instant, wishing for their sense on his general conduct in the Quarter-master's department. A resolution was proposed, that Congress had full confidence in his integrity and ability, and requesting his future exertions. This brought on much debate; amendments were moved, and the House got into heats, and an adjournment was deemed necessary to give the members time to cool. A member, more zealous for the General's reputation than prudent, observed, that he was an officer in whom the Commander-in-chief had the highest confidence; that he was the first of all the subordinate Generals in point of military knowledge and ability; that, in case of an accident happening to General Washington, he would be the properest person to command the army; *and that General Washington thought so too.* Another observed, that he had a very high opinion of General Greene's military abilities; that he believed the General had too; but that he believed no person on earth was authorized to say as much as the words, above scored, implied. I men-

tion this, that your Excellency may guard against any misapprehensions which this may occasion with your officers. General Greene will inform you who delivered the imprudent speech.

Yesterday your letter of the 2d was read. There appeared a disposition in many to leave the whole business, which was the subject of it, to your discretion. Great part of the morning was spent on the subject before the resolution took place, which will be transmitted by the President.

Some days since, I moved for a Committee to prepare a letter to the States, to call on them for exertions more competent to the great object we have in view. After some altercation, a Committee was appointed. Ellsworth, Muhlenberg, and Schuyler composed it. They prepared the letter, and reported; but some gentlemen were averse at the decisive plainness with which we intended Congress should address the States; whilst others contended that we should speak still more pointedly. After a whole day's debate, the letter was recommitted.

I have entreated General Greene to remain a day or two longer in town, that I may be able to advise with him on the measures necessary to be pursued to prevent the ill consequences of his being driven to the necessity of a resignation, which, I conceive, would at any time be an event to be much lamented, but, in the present conjuncture, ruinous.

Pray entreat Mrs. Washington to accept of my respects, and the gentlemen of the family those wishes which my esteem for them induces. I am, dear Sir, with perfect esteem, and the sincerest affection,

Your Excellency's obedient servant,

PHILIP SCHUYLER.

FROM JAMES BOWDOIN.

Boston, 6 April, 1780.

SIR,

A new Constitution of Government being generally apprehended necessary for this State, a majority of the towns, on recommendation of the Assembly, some months ago appointed Delegates for the purpose of forming one; and they have lately, in Convention, agreed upon one, which is to be laid before the people at large for their consideration. They ordered a number of copies to be printed, two or three of which being at my disposal, I have the honor of inclosing one of them to your Excellency. If it should afford you any amusement, I shall be much gratified.

By a letter, in January, from our peace Ambassador, Mr. Adams, so far as he then had the means of judging, he did not expect to have any thing to do in the business of his department, at least for this year; so that another campaign seems unavoidable. I wish it may be productive of such happy events as to insure a lasting peace, established on American principles. I have the honor to be, with the most perfect esteem, Sir, your Excellency's

Most obedient, humble servant,

JAMES BOWDOIN.

FROM BRIGADIER-GENERAL WOODFORD.

Charleston, 8 April, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,

After a forced march of five hundred and five miles, which we performed in thirty days, I had the pleasure of throwing my troops into town in



good health and spirits, by the only passage now left open. We arrived on the 7th, at two o'clock, to the great joy of the garrison. Our embarkation was made on the east side of Cooper River, distant from town nine miles.

So far as my indisposition would enable me to make myself acquainted with the situation of matters, they stand nearly thus.

Their ships, to the number of nine, passed Fort Moultrie yesterday afternoon, at five o'clock. The fire from both sides was warm, but, the wind being fair and blowing very fresh, they passed with much more ease than I expected, and I fear with less damage. All that we can discover is, one of the frigates lost her foremast; a ship ran aground in her passage up, but got off with the evening's flood, and, in attempting to come up in the night, was set on fire and blew up, whether from the fire of the fort, or by what other means, or of what force she was, we are not informed, having heard nothing from Fort Moultrie since the ships have taken their station before the town, at two and a half miles distance. If they can get past the obstructions in the mouth of Cooper River, they will enfilade our works, and the consequences will be fatal, besides entirely cutting off all communication with the country. Our batteries are strong, and the artillery numerous; but it appears to me they will not be so well manned as I could wish. Some part of the lines are rather low, and I think the men off duty will be much exposed when their batteries open.

Their army crossed the Ashley the 29th of March, and the first of this month they broke ground in our front. Their nearest work is upon our right, at six hundred yards distance from ours, and they fall off

from eight and nine, to eleven hundred yards on our left. They have done a good deal of work; their battery upon the Cooper is in the greatest forwardness. It does not appear they can open for several days, unless they do it partially, which, I suppose, will not be the case. They have been employed, for several days and nights, in opening lines of communication between their batteries, which appear in great forwardness. Exclusive of these, they have a battery upon our left flank at Wappoo Cut, and some galleys, brought in by the passage of Stono River. These are mounted with thirty-two and twenty-four pounders; but the distance is at least one mile and a quarter from our left, too far to do any considerable execution.

The garrison appears in high spirits, and our arrival seemed to give them fresh confidence. My want of experience, in the defence or attack of a place, will not enable me to give your Excellency my opinion upon the whole of our situation, with any degree of precision.

On our arrival here, the officers of the Virginia line, that came out last year, have applied to General Lincoln for a new arrangement of the regiments. I cannot, at present, inform your Excellency what will be done in it; but I shall oppose any alteration at this critical juncture, upon the principle of its doing mischief. And, as it was done by authority of the Board of War for this expedition, and I have been at much pains and infinite fatigue to get them properly organized for service, an alteration at this time will occasion much confusion, and make the troops of the line much less serviceable in the siege than they would be to remain as they are till it is ended, at least, or till your Excellency's pleasure, or that of the Board of War, is known.

General Scott is here; Colonel Buford's battalion on its march, but where I cannot inform you; nor can I say any thing, with certainty, about the State troops on their march, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Porterfield. I shall think it my duty to take every opportunity of writing your Excellency from this place; and have to request, that you will be pleased to give my respectful compliments to all the General Officers, and the gentlemen of your family, and to be assured that I am, with the greatest respect and affection,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,  
 WILLIAM WOODFORD.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL LINCOLN.

Charleston, 9 April, 1780.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

The enemy crossed the Ashley, in force, near the ferry, on the 29th ultimo, and the next day moved down, and encamped about three thousand yards from our lines. Before this, they had transported their heavy baggage, ordnance, and stores, from out of Wappoo, across land, about two miles, to Old Town Creek, on the west side of the river, opposite their encampment. In the morning of the 1st instant, we discovered that they had opened ground in several places in our front, about eleven hundred yards therefrom. The next night they threw up a work on our left, distance nine hundred yards. The next which appeared was on Cooper River, six hundred yards from our right; these, and some which they have since raised, seem to be closed. They have been some nights perfecting their works, and opening lines of

communication. What they have done seems rather calculated to cover their approaches, than to annoy us from them.

Seven ships of war passed Fort Moultrie yesterday afternoon, and anchored near where Fort Johnson stood, with no other apparent injury than the loss of one topmast. We have been busily employed in throwing obstructions in their passage of the Cooper. I wish they may prove effectual, for it is of the highest importance for us to keep that open; thereby we preserve a communication with the country, from which we can draw our succours and supplies. In order the more effectually to do this, we mean to throw up a work on Lempriere's, one at Cainhoys up Wando, where we shall have our deposit of stores, besides some on the several landings, on the east side of Cooper River. These things have been some time in contemplation, but the necessary works to be made in town have prevented their being executed. Indeed, before the Virginia troops, under General Woodford, arrived, which was on the 7th, we could not man them; but from the addition of that force, and the North Carolina militia, who are coming in, we hope to spare some few men for this purpose, and that we shall be able to draw down some of the militia of this State into these works, who will not come to town. One of the enemy's ships, said to be a transport, fell to leeward last night (within Fort Moultrie), which ship they burned this morning.

I expect soon the remainder of General Scott's troops, and some militia from North Carolina. I have the honor to be, my dear General, with the highest esteem and affection,

Your most obedient servant,

BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

FROM COLONEL JOHN LAURENS.

Charleston, 9 April, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,

When I last had the honor of writing to your Excellency, the enemy had not extended their operations beyond their place of arms on Wappoo Neck. On the 29th ultimo they crossed Ashley River, in force, one mile above the ferry. The next day they advanced to Gibbs's, a convenient landing, about two miles from town, having previously collected a number of boats at the opposite shore, for the purpose of crossing their heavy artillery and stores. My battalion of light infantry, posted there to prevent a surprise or too sudden approach of the enemy, was ordered not to engage seriously, but skirmish with advanced parties, retiring slowly and orderly towards town, as there was no object in maintaining any advanced post, and the advantages of a serious affair were all on the side of the enemy.

On the night of the 1st instant, the enemy broke ground, and have been working slowly ever since. I scarcely know how to denominate what they have executed hitherto. It consists of several redoubts, with a covered communication from right to left, which is still unfinished. Their nearest work is an inclosed battery on their left, at about the distance of six hundred yards, which induces me to believe, that they intend the line in question for a first parallel, although some parts of it are rather too remote. Our shells and shot have disquieted them, and interrupted their operations; but General Lincoln, sensible of the value of these articles in a siege, economizes them as much as possible. Fatigue parties are constantly employed in improving our works. The whole

front of our lines, within the *abatis*, is armed with wolf-traps. All this affords an excellent defence against storm, but must finally yield to a perseverance in regular approaches, which appears to be Clinton's present plan, unless we can work under his fire as fast as he can, and afford time for the arrival of your Excellency.

Our obstructions in Cooper River are completed; which gives a prospect of our maintaining a communication with the country, and hitherto prevents the accomplishment of the investiture. Since the arrival of General Woodford, General Lincoln will have it in his power to execute his plan of establishing the necessary posts for this purpose, on the eastern shore of the river. Colonel Malmedy is to take command of the troops destined for that service.

The enemy's squadron of seven armed ships, three of which are two-deckers, and two transports, availed itself of a brisk southern breeze to pass Fort Moultrie yesterday afternoon. The Admiral's ship led the van, and escaped without apparent injury; the frigate which followed her, had her foretopmast carried away; a large transport, in the rear of the whole, ran aground, and, after receiving some shot from Sullivan's Island, was fired and abandoned by her crew. The remainder are now anchored near the ruins of Fort Johnson, out of the reach of our cannon.

My notice of the present opportunity was so sudden, that I have not been able to make atonement for my last hurried letter. Relying upon your Excellency's goodness, I have preferred writing, at any rate, to total silence, and losing an occasion of repeating the assurances of attachment and veneration, with which I have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's faithful Aid,

JOHN LAURENS.

P. S. I beg to be respectfully presented to Mrs. Washington. The reason above mentioned makes me trouble your Excellency to present my love to the family, as I shall not be able to write to any of them.

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FROM COLONEL BRODHEAD.

Fort Pitt, 24 April, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,

I am honored with your favor of the 4th of January, and the 14th of March. That of the 4th of January I did not receive until the 18th instant. Returns of the troops under my command have been duly forwarded to the orderly office, agreeably to general orders, except one or two months in the winter, when the mountain was impassable. As no reinforcement can be had from your Excellency, the intended expedition against Detroit must be laid aside until a favorable turn of affairs takes place, unless you would recommend a junction of Colonel Clark's troops with mine.

I have called upon the different counties, on this side the mountain, for eight hundred and twenty-five rank and file, to be drafted from the militia, and intend to visit the Shawanese, provided the men are furnished. But the unhappy dispute of jurisdiction will, I fear, prevent my getting them; and, as many renegadoes from the different Indian nations are collected at the Shawanese towns, I do not incline to make an attempt with an inconsiderable number of men, because a defeat would be attended with fatal consequences to the settlement.

I am honored with a line from the Honorable Board of War, informing me that an officer of Colonel



Proctor's regiment, with some stores and cannon, was in readiness to be sent up as soon as the roads would permit, and the means of transportation can be procured.

Mr. Arthur Gordon has deserted from his arrest, and will probably avoid a new trial.

With a view of saving land-carriage expenses, when water-carriage was practicable, I suffered only a few of the boats to be used; and greater care could scarcely have been taken, than what I took, to prevent their being lost or spoiled; but it was out of my power to watch every person. I have, however, the pleasure to assure you, that not more than seven are past Fort Henry, which, as I have given orders to some of Colonel Clark's officers, will, I trust, be saved and sent back to this post.

I was much inclined, last fall, to do myself the honor of waiting upon your Excellency, with a view of proposing some things which, at that time, I expected would have promoted the service in this district in the course of this campaign; but I do not recollect that I expressed my desire to visit my family. I am much obliged to your Excellency for the indulgence; but, as Colonel Gibson is absent on a visit to his family, at Carlisle, and the Indians are remarkably hostile, I must remain, until I see whether it will be in my power to prosecute an expedition against the hostile Indians, or not, and until I have the honor of hearing from you again.

The Lieutenants of Monongalia county, and Ohio, write, that they are happy to hear of the intended expedition against some of the hostile Indians, and that they will exert themselves to furnish the men required; but they conceive that it will be difficult to effect it, on account of the disputed territory.

I take the liberty to inclose the copy of a letter, lately received from the Delaware Council at Cochocking, number One; likewise a copy of the Reverend Mr. Heckewelder's letter, number Two; and an extract from the Reverend Mr. Heckewelder's letter, number Three; and I will likewise inclose the return of the troops, as nearly as possible, to your wish; but as Colonel Gibson's regiment, my own, and the independent corps, were chiefly raised within the disputed territory, it will be impossible to determine in which State they were raised, until the line is run.

Fearing a scarcity of salt provisions for the outposts, and the better to enable me to subsist a number of the militia upon the proposed expedition, I have been obliged to reduce the ration of meat one quarter. but I have allowed some Indian meal in lieu thereof. Since the 1st of March, the Indians have killed and taken forty-three men, women, and children, in the counties of Youghiogany, Monongalia, and Ohio, including those killed and taken upon the river: and they have destroyed a number of horses and cattle in Tiger Valley.

The Honorable Board of War mention the expense of expresses in such a manner, as must prevent my employing any; but I will do myself the honor to communicate to you every material occurrence, by such private conveyance as may from time to time offer. I have the honor to be, with the most sincere respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

DANIEL BRODHEAD.

FROM GOVERNOR CLINTON.

Poughkeepsie, 23 April, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's favors of the 26th ultimo and 12th instant. Two days before the former came to hand, I received the act of Congress respecting the troops proposed to be raised for the defence of our frontiers. Some considerable time will necessarily elapse before they can be embodied; and, as the enemy have already appeared at different times and places on the northern and western frontiers, I am very apprehensive that, in the interim, the more remote settlements will be abandoned. Every measure will be used to expedite this business, and your Excellency will have the earliest information of the disposition which, in consequence of your letter, I shall cause to be made of these levies.

The act of Congress, of the 26th of last month, respecting the quotas of supplies for the army, to be furnished by the different States, was not received until some days after the rising of the Legislature. This, together with some other important matters from Congress, has induced me to call them together at an earlier day than that to which they stand adjourned: and I have accordingly issued my proclamation for convening them at Kingston on the 9th of next month, when this business will be submitted to their consideration. In the mean time, I think it my duty to inform your Excellency, that, in consequence of the several laws which have been enacted for obtaining supplies of provision and forage for the army, this State is so exhausted, that I am persuaded there is not more grain and meal left in posses-

sion of the farmers, than a bare competency for the support of its inhabitants until the new crop comes in; and with respect to forage, few of the farmers have a sufficiency to bring their stock through until grass. Should, therefore, the present supplies, besides what are already in the hands of the public officers, be wanted before harvest, they are not to be had in this State. I should have written to your Excellency earlier on this subject, but I did not receive your letter until a few days ago. I have the honor to be, with the highest sentiments of respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

GEORGE CLINTON.

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FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

At the entrance of Boston Harbour, 27 April, 1780.

Here I am, my dear General, and, in the midst of the joy I feel in finding myself again one of your loving soldiers, I take but the time to tell you that I came from France on board a frigate, which the King gave me for my passage. I have affairs of the utmost importance, which I should at first communicate to you alone. In case my letter finds you anywhere this side of Philadelphia, I beg you will wait for me, and do assure you a great public good may be derived from it. To-morrow we go up to the town, and the day after I shall set off in my usual way to join my beloved and respected friend and General.

Adieu, my dear General; you will easily know the hand of your young soldier. My compliments to the family.\*

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\* The instructions, which Lafayette brought with him from the French Court, may be seen in Washington's Writings, Vol. VII. p. 496.

FROM THE CHEVALIER DE LA LUZERNE.

(Translation.)

PHILADELPHIA, 29 April, 1780.

SIR,

I HAVE received, with all the gratitude possible, the news which your Excellency has been pleased to give me of Don Juan.\* I begin to flatter myself that the cares he has received from you, and from all those who surround him, will reëstablish him.

I cannot sufficiently express to you, Sir, my sentiments in this respect, and for the kindnesses, without number, which you have heaped upon me during the time passed with you. I shall render an account to my Court of all that I saw at the army; of the good order and discipline of the troops; of the zeal and talents of the officers; of the good disposition reigning among them; as well as of the respect and public confidence in the Commander-in-chief. These circumstances united form an augury the most favorable for the enterprises which your army may be in condition to undertake, when it shall be completed, in consequence of the measures that have been just taken. I am certain, beforehand, that his Majesty will take a true satisfaction in learning details so interesting to a power so dear to him.

I dare supplicate your Excellency to receive anew the assurances of the sentiments of veneration and respect, with which you have inspired me, and with which I have the honor to be,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

LUZERNE.

\* Don Juan de Miralles, an unofficial agent of the Court of Spain, who had resided for some time at Philadelphia. He died the day before the date of the above letter, at Washington's head-quarters. See *Washington's Writings*, Vol. VI. pp. 180, 476; Vol. VII. p. 27.

P. S. Permit me to seize this occasion to pray you to present the homage of my respect to Mrs. Washington.

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FROM MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

Roxbury, 30 April, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,

I was, some time since, honored with yours of the 28th ultimo, respecting clothing for the recruits, and, this morning, with that of the 17th instant.

Several officers have already come from West Point on the recruiting service, and others are on the road. I wish they may be successful, but am at a loss, from the tenor of your Excellency's letter, to determine what bounty the recruits, raised by this State (Massachusetts), are to receive. It seems the Continental bounty, after the act of March, 1779, was to be two hundred dollars. The General Assembly of this State, on the 30th of September last, passed the following resolution, namely;—"Resolved, that a bounty of three hundred dollars, in addition to the bounty and subsistence-money allowed by Congress, be paid to each non-commissioned officer and soldier, who has or shall enlist as one of this State's quota of the Continental army, during the continuance of the present war between the United States of America and Great Britain." This bounty appears to be intended over and above the Continental bounty, and extended to all the soldiers belonging to their quota of the army enlisted at any preceding period. I purpose, to-morrow, to lay the matter before the Assembly, who, it is probable, may have received some particular instruction on the subject, or, at least, that they may conduct as they think proper.

On Tuesday last two privateers, belonging to Salem (the Franklin and Jack), sent into that port a large letter-of-marque ship, having on board one thousand barrels of pork and beef, seven hundred and fifty barrels of flour, eight hundred firkins of butter, and dry goods to the amount of fifteen thousand pounds.

A Dr. Apedale, lately come from New York to Boston, and, some time before, from Canada to New York, reports, that before he left Canada, it was said that about one thousand regulars and Tories, with as many Indians as could be collected and would join them, were to make an excursion on our frontiers on the Mohawk River, as soon as the season was suitable, in two divisions, under the command of Johnson and Butler; and that Lieutenant-Colonel Stacy was held a prisoner in Canada with a view to be exchanged for Johnson or Butler, should either of them happen to be taken. How much credit is to be given to this report, your Excellency may be able best to determine.

I have the happiness to forward this by Major-General the Marquis de Lafayette, who arrived at Boston on the 28th instant, where he was received with every demonstration of joy. I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

WILLIAM HEATH.

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FROM JAMES DEANE.

In Congress, Philadelphia, 4 May, 1780.

MY DEAR GENERAL.

We are here in anxious suspense for the fate of



Charleston. It is not to be wondered at, when we consider the greatness of the stake, and the uncertainty and importance of the event. The Governor, Council, and magistrates have shut themselves up in the town, determined to share the glory of preserving it, or to perish in the attempt. We understand that this resolution was submitted to with reluctance by the principal officers of the army, and, in my opinion, it is rather a display of heroism than of deliberate policy. The influence of government would have been well employed, as far as we can judge at so remote a distance, in preparing against a disaster, and drawing the internal strength of the country to some point for its defence. On the present plan, the loss of the whole State seems to be hazarded with the capital.

We learn from a Mr. Cannon, who left the neighbourhood of Charleston on the 12th, and parted with General Lincoln on the 9th, that the garrison and inhabitants were greatly elated on the arrival of the Virginia line, and in full expectation of success; and it is his opinion, that if the Maryland line were near the scene of action, Sir Henry Clinton would be glad to raise the siege. We have endeavoured to learn from him the sentiments of General Lincoln on the fate of the town; but it appears that he is as reserved in his conversation as his letters, though his activity and vigor inspire the highest respect and confidence. These circumstances do not appear in any correspondence; and I conclude, though they are not very material, you will not think them too trivial to be communicated.

We are exerting every means in our power to expedite the march of the reënforcement destined for Charleston. It is committed to the joint efforts of

the Board of War and the Treasury, and I hope every obstacle is surmounted. I have but one wish left, that Virginia may, on so decisive and interesting an occasion, be able to detach a body of militia, which, in conjunction with the Continental reënforcements, will be sufficient to support the communication between the town and country, and harass the besiegers in their rear. The reluctance against the southern service, though easy to be accounted for, is much to be deplored; and I reconcile myself to the embarrassments which our weakness in that quarter superadds to all our other difficulties.

In spite of the disagreeable aspect of our money affairs, I look forward to a happy termination of our arduous conflict. We have not experienced half the distresses which, considering the power of our enemies, every contemplative mind must have expected. I am, in this view, much engaged in another attempt to get the Confederation accomplished, which, in my opinion, would fully compensate for the temporary loss of any city on the Continent. It gives me great pleasure to assure your Excellency that the Delegates from Virginia are warmly disposed to give it all the aid in their power; and they have the fullest expectation that our joint exertions will succeed, and the future safety and tranquillity of the States be fixed on a permanent basis. Without a federal alliance, peace itself, independence, and security from external assaults, would scarcely deserve the name of a blessing. The flame of disaffection to the British Administration has, at length, reached the bosom of our enemies. Remonstrances and complaints, always terrible to an arbitrary government, cannot fail of producing embarrassment in public councils, or of enfeebling the national exertions. We have a right to

hope that they will be attended with serious consequences, and put an end to their operations against these States. If Britain, unsupported by friends or allies, and rent asunder by domestic jars and discontents, can continue an unjust and unpopular war against the joint efforts of America, France, and Spain, she will exhibit an example of obstinacy and of vigor unparalleled in history.

To hold a place in your Excellency's confidence and friendship, is an honor which I most highly prize, and which I shall always regard as one of the most happy circumstances of my life; for no man can be more entirely attached to you, by every tie of affection, esteem, and gratitude, than, my dear General,

Your most obedient and most faithful servant,

JAMES DUANE.

P. S. Be pleased to present my most respectful compliments to Mrs. Washington and the gentlemen of the family. We have this moment letters, informing us that the Connecticut and Massachusetts Legislatures have cheerfully adopted the new plan of finance. The Connecticut traders have done themselves great honor, as well as the principal farmers. The former, in an address to the Assembly, declare their readiness to receive the new money at its value specified for by congress, in payment for their commodities. New York, I am persuaded, will concur; and their example will probably bring all the States into the measures.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL THE BARON DE KALB.

Philadelphia, 12 May, 1780.

SIR,

The providing the troops, under my command, with every necessary for their march, has been attended with many difficulties and delays, which it was not in my power to remove as soon as I could have wished; and, therefore, I was not able to give a satisfactory account to your Excellency before now.

The Board of War have fixed upon Richmond as the place of rendezvous for the whole. The two brigades embarked at the Head of Elk: the artillery, ammunition, and baggage, proceeded by land. I shall set out to-morrow morning. I should have done it many days ago, had I not been detained by the Board of War and of the Treasury. I should have been happy to see the Marquis de Lafayette, but would not lose a moment in going on.

From Richmond, I will write to your Excellency the situation of the troops, the number of recruits joined on the march, and the measures I shall take to march with most expedition. I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your Excellency's obedient servant,

THE BARON DE KALB.

FROM COLONEL BRODHEAD.

Fort Pitt, 13 May, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,

I have put off the assembling of the militia until

the 4th of next month, to endeavour to procure a sufficient quantity of provision for them. But I fear it will not be in my power, as General Gates, who presides at the Board of Inspection, has ordered the Commissaries to stop purchasing; and the Mingoes, in sundry parties, have been discovered on their march toward the inhabitants. Several persons have lately been killed and wounded in Westmoreland county, which will probably prevent my receiving any aid from the militia of that county. They have hired sixty men, who are now stationed upon their frontier. A Delaware Indian informed me this day, that two parties of warriors had just crossed the Ohio River, near Logstown and Chartier's Creek, which will, probably, by alarming and driving the inhabitants, prevent my getting the men from the other counties as I expected. The remaining Continentals are the cullings of our troops, and I cannot promise any thing clever from them.

I have wrote to the artillery officer to hurry up the artillery and stores; but I hear he is badly furnished with carriages and forage, which must prevent his marching with expedition.

I think it is probable that the enemy are meditating an attack upon some of our posts, which, for want of sufficient garrisons and supplies, cannot make much resistance. I am preparing to receive them here, but the detachments to Fort McIntosh, Holli-day's Cave, Fort Henry, and Fort Armstrong, leave but a small garrison to defend this post. The Delaware Indians continue their professions of friendship, and some of their warriors are now out with my scouts. But, as I have little or nothing to give them but good words and fair promises, I apprehend they will soon decline the service. I have the honor to

be, with the highest sentiments of respect and esteem.

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

DANIEL BRODHEAD.

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FROM BRIGADIER-GENERAL DUPORTAIL.

Charleston, 17 May, 1780.

SIR,

You will have probably heard of the surrender of Charleston, by the time you will receive this letter. I arrived there the 25th of April, at seven o'clock in the morning, after having past, during the night, in the middle of the enemy, through the woods, with the assistance of good guides. I found the town in a desperate state, almost entirely invested by the British army and fleet, which had passed the bar, and Fort Moultrie. They had surmounted difficulties which were generally looked upon as insurmountable, without experiencing scarce any resistance. The enemy had brought their trenches, upon the Neck, within about one hundred and twenty or one hundred and thirty yards from the fortifications; in a word, the fall of the town was unavoidable, unless an army came to her assistance, which then did not appear likely.

After having examined the situation of things, I thought an evacuation highly advisable, and proposed it; but the Council found an impracticability in the measure, although, for my part, it only appeared to me difficult and hazardous, and such as we ought to risk, in our present situation. That plan being rejected, the only object was to protract the term of our capitulation. I have done, on my part, every

thing that was in my power to fulfil that object, in the same manner as Colonel Laumey had, before my arrival; but time brought us to close sight of the term of our resistance.

The enemy succeeded in draining part of our ditch, which was in front of our intrenchments, and raised new batteries in the third parallel. The day they opened them, they sent a flag, with a letter, to summon General Lincoln to surrender. Upon this a Council of General and Field-Officers was called; and, after having asked whether terms ought to be proposed to the enemy, it was carried in the affirmative, by a great majority. I myself was of that number. The first proposals were from the enemy. We might expect advantageous conditions; I had even some hopes that we might have saved the garrison. Besides, a positive refusal to treat with an enemy who, within a few days, would have been in a condition of giving us the law, appeared imprudent and unseasonable. It was then determined, in Council, that propositions should be made; but afterwards, by an extraordinary oversight, they left to the General Officers the care of determining whatever might be proposed.

This is the moment where I left off taking any part in what has been done, being of a contrary opinion to that of the General Officers. They agreed to propose that the Continental troops should be prisoners of war. I opposed that measure with all my might. I represented that, if even our situation required it, it was not our business to propose it, and that we showed an ignorance of what is practised in those cases, which would make us appear in a ridiculous light. I represented that, if I had been of opinion with the greatest number to propose terms



to the enemy. I meant that they should be honorable terms, both advantageous to the army and the Continent; as, for instance, to surrender the town alone, with the artillery, stores, and ships, but to save the troops. That, if the army must be prisoners of war, it was more eligible to hold out, in order to justify such unfavorable conditions, by a longer resistance and a more distressing situation.

My representations had not the desired effect. The propositions were made such as you will see them. Fortunately, such as they were, the enemy would not grant them, and proposed others less advantageous, which General Lincoln did not, however, think proper to accept. The truce was broke, and the operations of the siege vigorously continued. But the second day after, the militia refused to do duty. General Lincoln thought from this that the capitulation was absolutely necessary, and called the Council, who countenanced the measure. For my own part, I thought that we ought to try before, to bring the militia to their duty by all possible means, by acts of authority, and, if necessary, by exemplary punishments. This was likely deemed impracticable, and the capitulation took place, to my great regret; not that I thought we could have held out longer than three or four days, but that time would have put the enemy in such a situation as to render a further resistance on our part blamable to everybody. Then our defence would have done us much more honor. It is true that, in that case, the conditions would not have likely been the same; but I was for sacrificing that advantage to a little more glory.

Fortunately, in all this the honor of the American arms is secure, and the enemy have not yet great subject to triumph. To remain forty-two days with

open trenches before a town of an immense extent, fortified by sandy intrenchments, raised in two months, without covered way, without outworks, open in several places on the water, and exposed everywhere to an open attack, and defended by a garrison which was not sufficient by half; to remain, I say, forty-two days before such a place, and display all the apparel of a regular siege, is nothing very glorious. The British General has, perhaps, followed the rules of prudence in this conduct; but, at least, the troops under his command will never have subject of boasting of their audaciousness and enterprising spirit. The American troops, on the contrary, have given certain proofs of their firmness in supporting a tremendous fire, and remaining all the while exposed to the danger of a surprise and open attacks, of which the success was almost certain, if the enemy had taken proper measures. I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, your Excellency's

Most humble and obedient servant,

DUPORTAIL.

P. S. This is the copy of the letter that I write to the Congress. I am very sorry they don't let me have time enough to add a great many things I should be glad to say.

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FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Morristown, 23 May, 1780.

SIR,

I have had a long conversation with General Schuyler this morning, and have seen the powers and appointments upon the present business intrust-

ed to the direction of the Committee, as well as their powers to act under.\* From all which I am fully of opinion, that the plan is altogether incompetent to the purpose and end proposed. Time will not permit me to enter into the detail of objections, nor perhaps would their force appear in the same point of light to another, who has had less experience in the difficulties attending the business, than I have.

It is my opinion, that your Excellency ought to ask the decided opinion of the Committee, in writing, whether they think their powers are competent to the business expected of them. If they say not, as I am sure they must, then I would require of them the powers and the plan they conceive necessary to support the enterprise; the whole of which I would state to Congress, supported with my own sentiments, as well with respect to the defects of the present plan, as the plan necessary for the business. Nothing, but some such decisive measure as this, will put the business on a proper footing. The measure will, at least, place your conduct in the fairest point of light. It will free the Committee from their present embarrassments, and place the labouring-oar where it ought to be. If you undertake the business upon the present footing, and exercise powers beyond the present scheme, it will be asked, why you did not ask for an enlargement of the Committee's powers, if you deemed them inadequate. And if you engage and fail for want of support, it will be asked, why you embarked in such a business, without being fully persuaded that the means were adequate to the end. In

\* General Schuyler, Mr. Mathews, and Mr. Peabody, Delegates in Congress, had been appointed a Committee to proceed to head-quarters for the purpose of consulting with the Commander-in-chief on the affairs of the army.

whatever point of view I consider the subject, I see the greatest propriety in your Excellency stating to the Committee this quære,—whether it is their opinion they can give you such support as will warrant your engaging in a coöperation with the French forces for the redemption of New York.

I have just seen Colonel Hamilton, who says your Excellency desires my opinion upon the position the fleet off the Hook ought to take, upon the supposition it is a French fleet, and come with a view of coöperating with us. It is my opinion, if your Excellency intends to support the expedition against New York at all events, without regard to the powers or plan laid down by Congress (if that should fail or appear inadequate to the end), then the fleet and forces ought to be immediately brought into the Hook, and the troops landed upon Staten Island, where our army ought to reënforce them at the same instant of time. But, if your Excellency is determined to depend upon civil government for support altogether, without any exertions of your own, and you think the present plan and powers of the Committee defective, it is my advice, to let the fleet and forces go into Rhode Island; unless you should think it advisable to put one thousand or fifteen hundred men on board and push on the fleet, without loss of time, to the southward.

To bring the fleet into the Hook, without having taken some decisive resolution upon the line of conduct you mean to pursue, may tend to embarrass you and injure our ally. We ought carefully to avoid bringing our friends into distress and disgrace, if we cannot avail ourselves of the benefit intended us.

I shall be at head-quarters in a few minutes, and

will give your Excellency my further sentiments on the matter. I am, with great respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

NATHANIEL GREENE.

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FROM JAMES BOWDOIN.

Boston, 29 May, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

Yesterday, at five o'clock, P. M., I received your Excellency's letter of the 15th, with the inclosed to Major-General Heath. As it was of importance he should have it as soon as may be, I immediately went with it to Roxbury, and delivered it to him. I told him I would assist him in inquiring for information relative to the particulars mentioned in your letter, and, if I should obtain any worth notice, I will communicate it to your Excellency.\*

It appears probable the enemy have got information of what is intended; for they know, by a packet arrived at New York from England, that a squadron of men-of-war, with troops, had sailed from Brest for this part of America; and last Thursday a vessel, which arrived here on Saturday, saw a number of ships standing to the eastward, which the people judged were going to Halifax; probably the same which, on that day, we received intelligence had some days before sailed from New York with two thousand troops on board. These repeated drafts, one would think, must so much weaken New York, as to make it im-

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\* Intelligence concerning the condition of the naval arsenals and garrison at Halifax, with the view of ascertaining the expediency of an attempt against that place by the French fleet. See the letter to General Heath, in Washington's Writings, Vol. VII. p. 36.

pressible by a force not very large ; so that in such a divided state of their troops, both places may fall into our hands, if we spiritedly coöperate with our allies ; which, so far as this State may be concerned, I doubt not will be the case, when their arrival is known, or rather, when your Excellency shall make the requisition.

I am much obliged for the intelligence concerning the state of things at Charleston. Our direct intelligence is to the 27th of April, and that on the 22d, at night, an attack of the enemy was repelled, with a loss on their part of eight hundred, as appears by our last newspapers. What was their real loss, I think is uncertain. Fervently wishing their total defeat there, and a successful campaign on our part, I have the honor to be, with the most respectful regards, Sir, your Excellency's

Most obedient, humble servant,  
JAMES BOWDOIN.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL PUTNAM.

Pomfret, 29 May, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

I cannot forbear informing your Excellency, by the return of Major Humphreys to camp, of the state of my health, from the first of my illness to the present time.

After I was prevented from coming on to the army, by a stroke of the paralytic kind, which deprived me, in a great measure, of the use of my right leg and arm, I retired to my plantation, and have been gradually growing better ever since. I have now so far gained the use of my limbs, espe-

cially of my leg, as to be able to walk with very little impoliment, and to ride on horseback tolerably well. In other respects I am in perfect health, and enjoy the comforts and pleasures of life with as good a relish as most of my neighbours.

Although I should not be able to resume a command in the army, I propose to myself the happiness of making a visit, and seeing my friends there some time in the course of the campaign. And, however incapable I may be of serving my country, to my latest hour my wishes and prayers will always be most ardent and sincere for its happiness and freedom. As a principal instrument in the hand of Providence for effecting this, may Heaven long preserve your Excellency's most important and valuable life.

Not being able to hold the pen in my own hand, I am obliged to make use of another to express with how much regard and esteem, I am, your Excellency's

Most obedient and very humble servant,

ISRAEL PUTNAM.

P. S. I am making a great effort to use my hand to make the initials of my name, for the first time.

I. P.

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FROM COLONEL BRODHEAD.

Fort Pitt, 30 May, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,

Since my last, ten persons have been killed and wounded, taken by the Indians in Westmoreland county. Parties of regulars and militia have endeavoured to overtake them, but without success.

The accounts I have received, relative to the Bri-



tish garrison at Detroit, differ widely, some making it to consist of only two hundred men, some three hundred, and others, upwards of four hundred. This has determined me to send Captain Brady, with five white men and two Delaware Indians, to Sandusky, to endeavour to take a British prisoner, which I hope he will effect. I have likewise offered other Delaware warriors fifty hard dollars' worth of goods, for one British soldier, and they have promised to bring him immediately. Should an intelligent one be brought in, I intend to offer him some indulgence upon his giving me the most perfect intelligence in his power.

I had lately called out eight hundred and twenty-five rank and file, and a proportionate number of officers, from the militia, to aid me upon an enterprise against the Shawanese towns; but, upon finding the true state of what provisions could be drawn from the Commissaries, and that they were prohibited from making any further purchases, I was compelled to postpone the attempt until a sufficient quantity of provisions can be procured. The militia appear to be very anxious to aid me, and I sincerely wish it was in my power to indulge them. I expect a small supply from below the mountains, which, if it proves to be of good quality, will enable me to subsist the dependent posts until the 1st of September.

The soldiers frequently desert, and are often apprehended; and I expect sundry charges will soon be exhibited against some of the civil Staff Officers in this district. I shall, therefore, be much obliged for a few more blank orders, to enable me to assemble General Courts-Martial for their respective trials.

I cannot learn that the ordnance and stores, ordered from Philadelphia, have yet left Carlisle, nor do I know of what kind they are, nor what their number

or quality. I have the honor to be, with the most  
sincerely respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient Servant,

DANIEL BRODHEAD.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

Roxbury, 31 May, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,

Since I had the honor of writing you on the 28th instant, I have been endeavouring to obtain intelligence of the situation of the enemy at Halifax, &c. I learn that their naval force, not long since, consisted of one ship of seventy-four guns, one of twenty, one sloop of war, and two or three privateers. General McLean, a vigilant officer, commands the land forces, which are said to consist of six regiments, each about five hundred strong, four of which are at Halifax, the other two at different posts in the province. The militia of the town is said to be about eleven hundred.

From a gentleman, of the strictest probity and warmest attachment to our cause, and who has made upwards of forty voyages from Boston to Halifax, I learn that, when he was last there, which was before the commencement of hostilities, the enemy had a strong work on George's Island, at the entrance of the harbour; another about half a mile from the centre of the town, and about the same distance from George's Island; a battery on the east side, about two miles below, or without George's Island; a battery also at the town; the ship-yard and Arsenal about a mile above the town, where there is another battery. The basin begins just above the ship-yard,

and extends up about six miles northerly, from east to west. Between three and four miles above the Navy Yard was a block-house, at a place called the Narrows. The citadel is on a high hill, back of the town, at the distance of a quarter of a mile, and commands both the town and harbour. The basin is very spacious, capable, perhaps, to contain the whole navy of England.

I have just called at the Honorable Mr. Bowdoin's. He has preserved a chart of the harbour of Halifax; has made several inquiries of the gentleman I mentioned in my last, who, I believe, without the least suspicion, answered every one of them. Mr. Bowdoin is now making some minutes explanatory of the chart and the information he has received from the gentleman. The chart and minutes he will forward by to-morrow's or the next post, to your Excellency. I am looking out for the best pilots, and believe shall find a number of very good ones.

By the last accounts from Penobscot, there were appearances of an evacuation, or the removal of a part of the ordnance and troops to some other place. The garrison at Penobscot, at present, is by no means strong, at most not more than four hundred. Captain La Touche, of his most Christian Majesty's frigate the *Hermione*, in his late cruise, ran into Penobscot Bay, where he lay for some time, made several signals, and took a plan of the works, which he has forwarded to the Minister at Philadelphia. It is said the appearance of this frigate in the Bay has caused a great consternation and alarm.

I have just established a correspondence with General Wadsworth, who commands the troops in the eastern parts of this State, and with Colonel Allen, at Machias, and have requested every piece of intel-

ligence they may be able to obtain, either from Halifax or Penobscot.

The last night, I received most alarming accounts from West Point, of the scantiness of provisions and rum at that post. A quantity of the latter is on the road to Springfield. Since I have been here, I have been endeavouring to promote the recruiting service all in my power; but the Court unfortunately stopping the towns' bounties, in the settlements with the soldiers, has almost totally prevented enlistments. The new Assembly convened this day. I apprehend they will go any lengths that are recommended, to complete their quota, even by drafts, if they cannot be otherwise obtained. I wish to know your Excellency's pleasure, whether I shall urge it, and how far.

The issuing Commissary here informs me that there are upwards of nine hundred quintals of dry codfish in the stores, a considerable part of which will be in danger of spoiling in the course of the summer, if it is not issued. What pity it is that the army, in their present straits, cannot be relieved by it.

A report prevails, to-day, that the Trumbull frigate and a French ship have re-taken the Iris, formerly the Hancock frigate, off Sandy Hook. I hope it will be confirmed. I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

WILLIAM HEATH.

FROM JOSEPH REED.

Philadelphia, June 5, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

Your kind and truly obliging favor, of the 28th ultimo, came safely to hand, and, the oftener I peruse it, the more fully sensible I am of the justice and importance of its contents. I do not know by what means the expected assistance from France has been procured; but it will certainly give a complexion to the alliance in future, according to the reception it meets with here. I should be very apprehensive, from the different state of improvement of the two countries, and perverseness of human nature, which often leads us to expect more than can be obtained, and be chagrined at the disappointment, that, with all possible attention and care, difficulties will arise, and that it will greatly add to the burden laid upon you. But, if they should want necessaries, when the country abounds in them, we shall justly forfeit any pretensions to respect and friendship, and become contemptible, not only to them, but to the world, and even to ourselves. Our difficulties lie with the rich, and not with the poor. While the war was conducted with emissions, the aid of the former was not wanted; that of the latter was to be had, and may be had now, upon the same terms, that is, giving them a support for their labors; but to fight and starve, or work and starve, are equally impracticable.

In my opinion we have, in some degree, miscalculated the abilities of the country, and entirely the disposition of the people to bear taxes in the necessary extent. The country, not immediately the seat of either army, is richer than when the war began;

but the long disuse of taxes, and their natural unpalatableness, have embarrassed the business exceedingly; and Tories, grumbling Whigs, and party, have all thrown in their aid to increase the discontent. These circumstances, which it was impossible to foresee in their full extent, made a foreign loan a matter of great importance, and even of indispensable necessity; and, if any thing has been omitted to obtain it, which we may yet retrieve, I should hope no time will be lost.

The failure of the Eastern States to supply beef will be attended with some disagreeable effects here; for all the money we had, or expected soon, has been furnished to procure this article, and, of course, our means of procuring flour proportionably diminished. The State made an effort, on this account, which no other has equalled, as they mortgaged an estate, belonging to the public, in the neighbourhood of this city, for the special purpose of supplying the army, leaving the taxes for the general use of the United States. But this money, though secure in every other event than that of our failing in the contest, and drawing an interest, has met with embarrassments and opposition, partly from interested and partly from other motives, which have very much delayed the supplies. We have, at length, got in motion, and, I hope, shall be able to get a supply of flour for the summer; but the shock paper money has received, subjects all our resources to the caprice of interested or perverse individuals, more than is consistent with our safety or honor.

The address of the Committee, accompanied with a letter from yourself, came at a seasonable moment, just as the House of Assembly was about to rise. They immediately passed a law for raising two men

out of every company of militia, which I had endeavoured, but in vain, to effect last spring. This will produce about one thousand men from the whole State, about six hundred of which will go to fill up the ranks of the Continental army. The remainder we must endeavour to throw upon the frontiers, or some of our oldest and most established counties are in danger of becoming a frontier. In short, there is no pacifying them without a body of troops, though experience has long decided how inadequate a defensive war is for support against the Indians.

The representation of the distress for want of meat, produced an immediate exertion, of which I hope the benefit must be felt by this time. It is true, many of the cattle are not fit for slaughter, but they are the best we have. It was thought best to continue this business, at least for some weeks, in order to have a stock in possession, and of consequence they will be continued for some time; proceeding to camp upon this principle, that, if you have none better, these must serve, and if you have, the season of the year will admit their being kept till they are better.

We had proceeded thus far, and there seemed to be a very good disposition in all to advance the necessary measures, with as much expedition as deliberative bodies usually do, or are capable of. The vesting extraordinary powers in the Executive was not so well relished, and it was too delicate a subject to be much pressed by me, especially as there appeared some reluctance on this point; and, it is probable, the House would have adjourned without touching upon it, had it not been so forcibly urged in your private letter. I was extremely embarrassed; I did not see any chance of its being done, but by



telling them know that it was deemed by you a matter not of mere importance, but of indispensable necessity. This was done in a manner the most guarded and confidential, and had the desired effect, as they have vested the Executive with the power to declare martial law, so far as they shall deem necessary, and which gives us a power of doing what may be necessary, without attending to the ordinary forms of law. I have the pleasure to observe, the measure is generally satisfactory; and as we shall endeavour to exercise it with prudence and moderation, I hope it may be productive of the good effects expected from it.

The loss of Charleston, with its garrison and stores, which I think a very probable event, notwithstanding the sanguine hopes of some, and doubts of others, will, it must be presumed, rouse us from the insensibility with which we have hitherto carried on the war since 1777. And yet the scene is so distant, and the danger apparently remote, that I am not certain of this effect. The arrival of a few vessels from 'Statia, or capture of as many, seems to be an event more interesting, than an advantage gained or lost by the enemy, however considerable. And our country friends find their patriotism abate, as their interests are affected by duties or taxes. I am inclined to think some stroke of adverse fortune necessary, and that lasting good may flow from it; for, pretend what we may, the country is so much removed from the distress of the war, and really has the three requisites of war, men, provisions, and iron, if not in abundance, in sufficiency for all our wants, our only difficulty is to draw them forth. And for this, two things are essentially necessary; namely, union among the States, generally and particularly.

The parties in Congress have weakened the influence and lessened the weight of that body, and the internal divisions have had the like effect on the Governments; so that every measure, however necessary for the general good, has been timid, feeble, and languid, each fearing to give his adversary some advantage; while the disaffected and mercenary have raised their heads, with an astonishing degree of insolence, to the great discouragement of the Whigs, especially in the middling and lower classes of life, who, having been distressed by their attachment to our cause, and their minds neither feeling, nor perhaps capable of feeling, what is called liberality of spirit towards an enemy, have been mortified to find themselves no way distinguished, but by their sufferings. It is clear that the Royal cause, both in this State and Maryland, derives great advantage from the division of the Whigs; for, in the rage and discontent of party, auxiliaries are so acceptable, that we are not apt to scrutinize their motives and principles too narrowly. Upon these considerations, I have ever thought it a most necessary duty to sacrifice, as far as I am capable, any smaller resentments, and, far from declining the paths of peace, to seek them. I have made more advances than one. The exposing my life to save that of my principal enemies, when they would otherwise have fallen a collective sacrifice to their own imprudence and to popular resentment, though an act of duty in my station, might have been evaded on many plausible pretexts. But it seems to be the allotment of Providence, that, in this respect, I am to be unhappy.

Conceiving it a proper time to write, and make a great and general effort for our national safety and honor, a few days before I was favored with your

sentiments on this subject, waiving all sorts of punctilio, I made a direct overture. I can only say, it was not accepted; but it was of so explicit and unequivocal a nature, as to leave no farther ground, unless time and a change of circumstances should produce it. I am, however, happy to find, that I have met your opinion in this respect, and beg you to believe, not only that I was sincere on that occasion, but that, as the public good and your ease appear connected in some degree with it, I shall embrace any favorable opportunity to renew it.

I feel, exceedingly feel, for the peculiarity of your situation, my dear Sir, and also fear that your health may suffer in the conflict. But when I consider what just conceptions you have of the importance of the prize for which we contend, the progress already, and the abounding affection and confidence of the country, I cannot but believe you may draw great consolation and support, that the present difficulties will lay a foundation for some system of solid supply, and a just consideration of the army, which has been too generally viewed through a very mistaken medium. For myself, I shall only add, that the same motives which led me to leave domestic enjoyments and lucrative ease, in 1775, and partake your early exertions, now strengthened by more knowledge and warmer attachment, will induce me to strain every nerve, and run every risk, to promote the public service, as the most acceptable testimony I can give you of the truth of these professions. And if there is any particular case or occasion, which, from want of knowledge or information, I may be likely to overlook, I shall esteem it a particular favor to be honored with a few lines, to which I shall pay the most special and animated attention.

I think it very happy, that Major Lee's corps is in the vicinity of this place; as, in case of emergency, they may be wanted to execute measures which, though necessary, are unpalatable, and often ill executed, where the feelings of acquaintance and personal friendship operate against the public measures. They are in exceeding good quarters, on the best terms with the inhabitants, and, I presume, must be far too late to render any assistance to our friends in the south.

Mrs. Reed, who is pretty well recovered, returns her respectful regards and thanks to Mrs. Washington and yourself for your polite attention, in which I beg leave to include mine; and am, with the most unfeigned respect and esteem, dear Sir,

Your obliged and most obedient humble servant,

JOSEPH REED.

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FROM COLONEL ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

8 June, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

I have seen the enemy. Those in view I calculate at about three thousand.\* There may be, and probably are, enough others out of sight. They have sent all their horse to the other side, except about fifty or sixty. Their baggage, it is agreed on all hands, has also been sent across, and their wounded. It is not ascertained that any of their infantry have passed to the other side. There are four or five hundred on the opposite point, but it is uncertain

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\* These troops, under General Knyphausen, had crossed from Staten Island to New Jersey on the night of the 6th of June.

whether they are those who went from this side, or those who were on Staten Island. I rather suppose the former.

Different conjectures may be made. The present movement may be calculated to draw us down, and betray us into an action. They may have desisted from their intention of passing till night, for fear of our falling upon their rear. I believe this is the case, for, as they have but few boats, it would certainly be a delicate manœuvre to cross in our face.

We are taking measures to watch their motions to-night as closely as possible. An incessant, but very light skirmishing; very few boats, not more than enough to carry three or four hundred men at a time. It is likely more will come down this evening I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

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FROM GOVERNOR JEFFERSON.

Richmond, 11 June, 1780.

SIR,

Major Galvan, as recommended by your Excellency, was despatched to his station without delay, and has been furnished with every thing he desired, as far as we were able. The line of expresses formed between us, is such as will communicate intelligence from one to the other in twenty-three hours. I have forwarded to him information of our disasters in the south, as they have come to me.

Our intelligence from the southward is most lamentably defective. Though Charleston has been in

the hands of the enemy a month, we hear nothing of their movements which can be relied on. Rumors are, that they are penetrating northward. To remedy this defect, I shall immediately establish a line of expresses from hence to the neighbourhood of their army, and send thither a sensible, judicious person, to give us information of their movements. This intelligence will, I hope, be conveyed to us at the rate of one hundred and twenty miles in the twenty-four hours. They set out to their stations to-morrow. I wish it were possible, that a like speedy line of communication could be formed from hence to your Excellency's head-quarters. Perfect and speedy information of what is passing in the south, might put it in your power, perhaps, to frame your measures by theirs.

There is really nothing to oppose the progress of the enemy northward but the cautious principles of the military art. North Carolina is without arms. We do not abound. Those we have are freely imparted to them; but such is the state of their resources, that they have not been able to move a single musket from this State to theirs. All the wagons we can collect have been furnished to the Baron de Kalb, and are assembled for the march of twenty-five hundred men. under General Stevens, of Culpepper, who will move on the 19th instant. I have written to Congress to hasten supplies of arms and military stores for the Southern States. and, particularly, to aid us with cartridge-paper and boxes, the want of which articles, small as they are, renders our stores useless. The want of money cramps every effort. This will be supplied by the most unpalatable of all substitutes, force. Your Excellency will readily conceive that, after the loss of one army, our

eyes are turned towards the other, and that we comfort ourselves, if any aids can be furnished by you, without defeating the operations more beneficial to the general Union, they will be furnished. At the same time, I am happy to find that the wishes of the people go no further, as far as I have an opportunity of learning their sentiments. Could arms be furnished, I think this State and North Carolina would embody from ten to fifteen thousand militia immediately, and more if necessary.

I hope, ere long, to be able to give you a more certain statement of the enemy's as well as our situation, which I shall not fail to do. I inclose you a letter from Major Galvan, being the second I have forwarded to you. With sentiments of the most perfect esteem and respect, I have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

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FROM GOVERNOR CLINTON.

Kingston, 13 June, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

Your Excellency's letter of the 10th instant, addressed to Lieutenant-Governor Cortlandt, was delivered to me yesterday evening, and I immediately forwarded, by express, your letter to Brigadier-General James Clinton, and urged him to the utmost expedition in his march to West Point. I inclose your Excellency a copy of a letter from my brother, of the 10th instant, giving the particular disposition of the regiments of his brigade, by which it appears, that Colonel Gansevoort's was employed in escorting



a supply of provisions to Fort Schuyler. As this appeared to me to be a business of too much importance to admit of delay, or be intrusted to the care of a weak party, I have therefore taken the liberty of advising him to continue this regiment on that service until it shall be accomplished, which, I hope, will meet your Excellency's approbation.

I am apprehensive that the other three regiments (they having, previous to the receipt of your Excellency's order, marched to the respective stations mentioned in my brother's letter) will not be able to reach West Point on as early a day as might have been expected. The militia, in the vicinity of the posts in the Highlands, were, before I left Poughkeepsie, put under orders to hold themselves in constant readiness to take the field on the shortest notice; and, on the signals of alarm being given, those on the west side of the river are to repair to West Point, and those on the east side are to rendezvous at Fishkill, and there wait for further orders. Of this I apprised General Howe at the time. I now write to him on the subject; and, if it should be thought necessary by your Excellency, I will immediately order such part of them to West Point as your Excellency or General Howe may direct, until the arrival of General Clinton's brigade.

Your Excellency's several letters of the 23d and 28th ultimo, and 2d instant, were received and opened by Lieutenant-Governor Cortlandt, in my absence, and such of them as were proper to be communicated to the Legislature, with the letters from the Committee of Congress, of the 25th ultimo, were laid before them; and I am happy in being able to assure your Excellency, that they give me reason to hope that they will yield a compliance with the re-

quisitions made of this State, on this important occasion, except in the article of forage, of which this State is entirely exhausted.

The moment I closed my last letter to General Schuyler, which has been communicated to your Excellency, I embarked for Albany, with an intention to intercept the enemy, under Sir John Johnson, in their retreat from Tryon county, or to succour Fort Schuyler, if invested, which I then apprehended might have been the case. On my arrival at Albany, I soon had reason to believe that the report of a force having marched against that post was merely calculated to favor Sir John Johnson's incursion; and, as the militia had collected, he had retired about six miles from Johnstown, and was preparing to return to Canada by a route more northward than that by which he entered the country. I therefore directed Colonel Van Schaick, who was at Fort Hunter, to march forward and hang close upon and harass his rear, to afford time for me to gain his front with the militia, to the north of Albany, which I expected to be able to effect, by striking into Jessup's Patent from Fort Edward. But, before my letter reached Colonel Van Schaick, the militia in that quarter, being out of provisions, and finding Sir John retiring, were returning home, which was also the case with those who assembled, and I expected to find at Fort Edward.

Under these circumstances, I found it necessary to alter my plan, to that of passing Lake George, and meeting the enemy on the borders of Lake Champlain, which (as the enemy appeared to be much fatigued by their long march, and it was to be presumed would move slow as soon as they were advanced such a distance as to conceive themselves out of danger) I conceived might still be practicable. I

accordingly reassembled the militia, and, with the levies stationed at Fort Edward, and a detachment of Warner's regiment, crossed Lake George. But, though I had a force, superior to that of the enemy, advanced as far as Bulwagger's Bay, below Crown Point, the place at which the enemy embarked, within eight days after my leaving this place, I was so unfortunate as to find (judging by the information of our scouts, and by the appearance of the bushes and bark the enemy had prepared to hut themselves, but did not put up, and by other marks as well as the sailing of their vessels) we were about six hours too late.

I would fain hope, however, that the attempt, though unsuccessful, may be attended with the good effect of deterring the enemy from a similar enterprise, as it will, at least, discover to them the danger which may attend it. I think it my duty to inform your Excellency that, on my request, I was joined by a party of two hundred and forty of the militia of the Grants, under Colonel Warner and Major Allen, whose behaviour on this occasion, in every respect, was very agreeable to me. I beg your Excellency will pardon me in troubling you with this long detail, as I wish it only to be received as an apology for not succeeding in an attempt which I gave you reason to believe was practicable, and which undoubtedly might have been effected had I found matters in the train I had reason to expect. I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect and esteem, dear Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

GEORGE CLINTON.

FROM JOSEPH JONES, IN CONGRESS.

19 June, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

I have your favor of the 31st ultimo, in answer to my several letters; and was then impressed with, and still feel great anxiety on account of, our public affairs. The present distress is to be ascribed, in great part, to the resolution not to issue any more bills of credit before a sufficiency of money is provided, and supplies procured, for the army. Had proper precaution been taken in these matters, and the new scheme of finance been ready for the public consideration, the determination not to increase the quantity of money, and the alteration introduced by the new system, would not have been so sensibly felt, or occasioned the distress, in the several departments, they have produced. From these, I think, we are nearly emerging, as the new money is coming into use in the several States, and will probably greatly relieve us.

But, by these and several other proceedings, Congress has been gradually surrendering, or throwing upon the several States, the exercise of powers they should have retained, and, to their utmost, have exercised themselves, until, at length, they have scarce a power left but such as concerns foreign transactions; for, as to the army, the Congress is at present little more than the medium through which the wants of the army are conveyed to the States. This body never had, or, at least, in few instances ever exercised, powers adequate to the purposes of war; and, such as they had, have been, from embarrassment and difficulties, flattered away to the States; and it will be found, I fear, very difficult to recover them.

A resolution passed, the other day, desiring the States to inform us what they had done upon certain requisitions for some time past, that we might know what we had to rely on. This may probably serve as a basis for assuming powers, should the answers afford an opening.

Other resolutions are now before us. By one of them, the States are desired to give express power for calling forth men, provisions, and money, for carrying on the war, for the common defence. Others go to the assumption of them immediately. The first, I have no doubt, will pass this body, but will, I expect, sleep with the States. The others, I believe, will die where they are; for, so cautious are some of offending the States in this respect, a gentleman, the other day, plainly told us, upon a proposition to order some armed vessels to search the vessels going out, to prevent the exportation of flour, though, if an embargo was laid in the Delaware, as in this State, he consented to the measure, otherwise he never would agree to such exercise of power.

The merchant bankers in this city are making generous exertions to procure and send forward to the army a supply of flour, and will afford us great help in that article. The Massachusetts Delegates read us letters, whereby it appears their State have raised four thousand men for the army, and are embodying four thousand more, to be ready, if wanting. Gates, Weedon, and Morgan, are ordered to the Southern department. Five thousand militia are required from Virginia to join that army, and three thousand to be held in readiness; from North Carolina, four thousand, and two thousand to be held in readiness. Twenty-five hundred of the Virginia militia were to march yesterday. By our accounts, it

would join those States are somewhat roused from their slumber, but have rejected the scheme of finance of the 18th March last, which, I fear, will have a bad effect on the credit of the money of the other States that have agreed to the measure.

Governor Jefferson has transmitted us a state of the Virginia troops, taken from the last returns, by which it appears we have, in the different corps, four thousand and eleven men in service to the 30th September, and for the war, or longer period than the 30th September next, including those captured in Charleston. This surprises me. But the fact appears to be so; and where they are, or what is become of them, is strange. I cannot inform you whether our Legislature have ordered a draft to fill up the deficiencies, as we have no mail this week from the southward, it stopping at Annapolis, for want of a rider to bring it to this place, the late rider having quitted the business. With great esteem, I am, dear Sir,

Your obedient, humble servant,

JOSEPH JONES.

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FROM JOSEPH REED.

Philadelphia, 20 June, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

I have received your favor of the 16th instant, directing the march of the city light-horse, for which the necessary orders will be given, and they will proceed with all possible despatch. Upon the new plan of our militia, there are light-horse attached to the troops of every county. The short time since the plan has been adopted has not permitted a

thorough execution; but, if your Excellency should be of opinion they would be specially useful, I shall endeavour to have them completed as soon as may be. The troop of the county of Philadelphia is already well mounted, armed, and in uniform. I do assure your Excellency every stimulus has been used to forward the recruits. According to information, they are chiefly selected, and only wait a proper equipment; but, as I found this was tedious in the country, I directed them to be sent hither, and they are now coming in. I am of opinion, if your Excellency could spare a few officers, say five or six, prudent and discreet, who could bear with the oddities and humors of the persons with whom they will have to do, it might forward the men; and, as it is proposed to set about a voluntary additional enlistment, as soon as this is over, we are sanguine enough to believe some men might be had. For this purpose some clever sergeants would be of great service.

The spirit, which your Excellency seems to wish, I think, is recovered beyond expectation. The loss of Charleston, like many other seeming misfortunes, may perhaps (heavy as it now appears) prove a real blessing to America. A measure has been set on foot here to establish a bank, which, from the unanimity with which it is espoused, seems likely to produce considerable advantages, and supplies to the army. It was at first constructed upon so narrow a scale as to meet with difficulties; but, being since enlarged, I hope will prove a more fruitful source of supply than the occasional expedients from time to time adopted. Whatever measure promotes the public good, shall have my aid and concurrence, from whatever quarter it proceeds.



The ladies of the place have also caught the happy contagion, and, in a few days, Mrs. Reed will have the honor of writing to you on that subject. It is expected she will have a sum equal to one hundred thousand pounds, to be laid out according to your Excellency's direction (in the absence of Mrs. Washington) in such a way as may be thought most honorable and gratifying to the brave old soldiers who have borne so great a share of the burden of this war. I thought it best to mention it in this way to your Excellency, for your consideration, as it may tend to forward the benevolent scheme of the donors with despatch. I must observe, that the ladies have excepted such articles of necessity as clothing, &c., which the States are bound to provide.

We have just heard that Mrs. Washington is upon the road to this city, so that we shall have the benefit of her advice and assistance here, and, if necessary, refer afterwards to your Excellency. I am, with the greatest respect and regard, dear Sir,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

JOSEPH REED, *President.*

# A P P E N D I X .

VOL. II.

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# A P P E N D I X .

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## No. I.

### OPERATIONS IN VIRGINIA AND SOUTH CAROLINA.

FRANK PIPES TO GENERAL LEE.\*

Kemp's, 31 March, 1776.

SIR,

I congratulate you on your appointment and arrival, and shall immediately proceed to execute the commands I had the honor to receive this night. At present I can only say, that Lord Dunmore's intrenchment is near a quarter of a mile in length, running nearly in a straight course from cove to cove, including Tucker's Mills and bake-house, with about two acres of land, in which they keep their hospital and exercise the blacks, whose number is between two and three hundred. These, together with about forty regulars of the fourteenth regiment, the marines of the Liverpool, Otter, and sometimes the Roebuck, and the Tory volunteers of Norfolk, who may perhaps amount to near a hundred, compose Lord Dunmore's whole force, unless you include the sailors on board a fleet of seventy or eighty sail of small vessels, with a few large ones, whose numbers it is impossible to ascertain.

The fleet are furnished with water from the distillery on one side of the river, and Tucker's Mills on the other side; the former within two hundred yards of the Dunmore, and in convenient reach from the Otter; and the latter, included within

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\* On the 1st of March, General Charles Lee was appointed by Congress "to take the command of the Continental forces in the Southern Department," and he soon afterwards proceeded for this purpose to Williamsburg, in Virginia.

the intrenchment, and under the command of the Liverpool and Otter, which have stationed themselves in the best manner for the protection of it. The ground near it is rather higher than the retrenchment, but has no shelter for near a half mile before you get to it, being an open old field. The depth of the ditch, through which the water runs, is above eight feet, the width uncertain.

I cannot, as yet, learn the number of cannon his Lordship has mounted, nor how many men constantly reside within their lines. They are supplied with many conveniences from Portsmouth, and the Western Branch; and, if we had not continued at this post, the whole county of Princess Anne would have lain at their mercy, and the communication between Carolina and the fleet have been opened, to the very great advantage of the latter. The scouting parties from this place have hitherto effectually prevented                      on this side of the river, and if the same steps had been taken on the other side and on the Western Branch, they would have been reduced to greater distress than they are at present.

By an intrenchment, in the mouths of the cannon at the distillery, we might, perhaps, greatly annoy the enemy for a while, but there is no mode of preventing it on the other side of the river, without the possession of Tucker's Mills. In short, I do not think we can prevent them from watering with the force we have here. Besides the Liverpool, King Fisher, Otter, and Roebuck ships of war, there are the Dunmore, the William, the Anna, ships of force, and a great number of armed tenders. If a raft could be privately constructed, we might do immense mischief to the crowd of vessels lying at Norfolk.

I shall be able to give you a fuller account upon my return, which shall be with great expedition. There are many valuable effects belonging to the Tory prisoners in this county. I should be glad to receive some orders about them. In consequence of a late act of Parliament, upon which the inclosed proclamation is founded, Lord Dunmore has seized upon all the vessels at Norfolk, whose owners are not on board, and confiscated them to the King's use. There has been a very heavy firing yesterday and last night. I dare say above five hundred cannon in the Bay, or at sea. From the change of place, there seems to have been a smart pursuit. I sent out a party on horseback last night, who are not yet returned.

I am, Sir, very respectfully, your most obedient servant,

FRANK EPPES.

FROM GENERAL LEE TO GENERAL ROBERT HOWE. EDENTON.  
NORTH CAROLINA.

Williamsburg, 5 April, 1776.

SIR,

I had the pleasure of receiving yours the day before yesterday, and think myself very much flattered by the good opinion you have conceived of me. I wish you may never have reason to think you have formed it without foundation. I should have been extremely sorry had you put off your necessary jaunt to Carolina merely through attentions to me. Your presence there, at this time, must be of the greatest importance, and I fancy it will become every day more important.

My own situation is extremely disagreeable from an uncertainty of the enemy's designs. I know not where to turn me, where to fix myself. I may be in the north, when, as Richard says, I should serve my sovereign in the west. I would willingly take a certain step, but, from the excessive prudence and economy of this Committee of Safety, am totally unprovided with the necessary materials. The distribution of their troops is likewise a masterpiece. I wonder they did not carry it still further, and post one or two men, by way of general security, in every individual gentleman's house.

I beg, Sir, should Mr. Clinton land, and attempt to take post, that you will immediately inform me, by express, of his situation, circumstances, and force, as likewise of the state of your troops, regulars, militia, &c., of their numbers and quality, of their wants and deficiencies. Any assistance that we can afford you, you may depend upon. I must apprise you that we have little or no cannon, and not a single tool for field works. How are you off in the article of intrenching tools? You can expect no arms. You will naturally ask what I mean by assistance, with these exceptions. I mean, if the enemy make your Province their object, I will immediately march myself, with whatever troops can be spared. In the mean time, believe me, Sir, to be, with the greatest respect,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

CHARLES LEE.

## [III. COMMITTEE OF SAFETY TO GENERAL LEE.]

Williamsburg, 10 April, 1776.

The Committee of Safety, taking into consideration the state of this Colony, and supposing General Lee may wish to be fully advised of local circumstances, and with the steps which have been taken by the General Convention of this Colony, or the Committee of Safety under their appointment, respecting the army, have thought proper to represent, that the forces raised by the General Convention of Virginia, for the defence of this Colony, as well the two old regiments there raised as the seven battalions to be raised, were, by an ordinance of the Convention, put under the direction of the Committee; and this Board was directed to provide for them arms, ammunition, tents, bedding, clothing, provisions, and all necessaries, in such manner as the circumstances of this country would admit. The clothing is to be paid for by the soldiery; all the rest to be furnished at the expense of the public.

By a clause in this ordinance, founded on a hope that the whole nine battalions would be taken into Continental pay, it is ordained, "That the whole should be under the command of one Major-General, and two Brigadier-Generals, to be appointed by Congress, and the field and other officers to be appointed and commissioned by Convention," with a proviso, "That all appointments and commissions of Convention should become void, when Congress should commission the same officer, or appoint another in his stead." The Convention, also, considering the place of attack by the enemy uncertain, and knowing the whole coast from Norfolk to Alexandria on the Potomac equally exposed, were pleased to direct the stations of the troops as follows; two regiments on the south side of James River, two between York and Rappahannoe Rivers, and two in the Northern Neck, with a proviso, "That on any emergency the Committee of Safety should have power to call them from those stations, but, so soon as the exigency ceased, they should be ordered back to their respective stations."

In pursuance of this command of Convention, this Committee directed the rendezvous of the eight battalions (the ninth being raised for the sole defence of the Eastern Shore) at convenient places within the districts described, leaving it to the commanding officers of each battalion to station them at any



place therein they should judge best for the service. And, in pursuance of the direction of Convention, this Committee made contracts for victualling these battalions by the ration, at an agreed price, to be furnished at the particular stations, and varying in price according to the conveniency of each station. These contractors have accordingly laid in provisions, in proportion only to the number of troops allotted at such stations, and now serve all the troops. The Congress having as yet made no provision for such purposes.

The Committee have also purchased clothing and necessities to a very considerable amount, and stored them under the directions of proper persons, as Commissaries of Stores at this place and at Fredericksburg, at the head of the Rappahannoc River, a place through which all stores from the northward must come, central with respect to our back country, whence a considerable quantity of linen is expected, and most convenient for supplying the two regiments in the Northern Neck, and one on the south side of the Rappahannoc River. Out of these stores the whole eight battalions have been indiscriminately furnished with clothing and necessities; and even since it has been known that six of them have been taken upon the Continental establishment, the latter have also been paid out of our treasury, from necessity, to avoid any uneasiness through the want of a Continental fund here.

This Committee, being advised that General Lee has been pleased to order the four northern battalions to this place, think it expedient to lay this short state of matters before him, (wishing to refer him to the ordinance of the Convention for his fuller information), with a view of learning from the General how far he expects this Board should be assisting in the departments heretofore assigned to this Committee by the Convention, observing that all the contracts for victualling the troops must become void, so soon as the troops are finally removed from the particular stations.

And we beg leave farther to observe, that the inhabitants of this Colony in general are badly armed, and that those in particular in and about the several stations, having spared their best arms to the soldiery intended for their immediate protection, will be more exposed than ever, and may be exceedingly alarmed, when the troops are called at a great distance from them, while the measures of the enemy, or their intended place of attack, are altogether unknown. This Committee beg General

Let us be assured that they place entire confidence in his great military abilities, and sincerely congratulate the inhabitants of this Colony on his acceptance of the chief command here, and will, as far as in their power, confine themselves to such a line of conduct as shall not interfere with his better judgment; and therefore will most cheerfully coöperate with General Lee in every thing, in which he may think they can be of service; and to this end they wish to have a conference with General Lee upon the subject-matter of this representation, and upon all other occasions, when he shall judge it necessary.

Signed for and by order of the Committee of Safety,

JOHN PAGE, *C. P.*

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE OF SAFETY.

Williamsburg, 19 April, 1776.

The Committee, taking under their most serious consideration a letter from Major-General Lee, urging the necessity of removing the inhabitants of Norfolk and Princess Anne counties from the neighbourhood of our enemy, together with several letters from the Secretary of State, lately intercepted, and other papers; and having been repeatedly informed, upon oath, by every person that has escaped from Lord Dunmore's ships and the fleet at Norfolk, that there is a constant intercourse kept up between the inhabitants on the Norfolk side, who furnish the enemy with provisions, and give intelligence of all our measures, which conduct has likewise been experienced frequently and complained of by the foregoing, and many other pregnant proofs, with a full conviction of the inimical disposition of many of the inhabitants in the neighbourhood of our enemy; and, convinced that all others who may be well disposed, and really attached to the common cause, must be exposed to the depredations of the enemy;

Do unanimously Resolve and Order, That all the inhabitants of Norfolk and Princess Anne counties at present residing between the enemy and our posts at Great Bridge and Kemp's Landing, and in a direct line from Kemp's Landing to the ocean, be immediately removed to some interior parts of this Colony; and that those who are unable to remove themselves, be assisted by the public. And, for the better effecting such removal, it is

further ordered that all live stock of the said inhabitants be immediately taken possession of by our army, and removed to a place of safety for the use of the owners; and such part thereof as the owners may be willing to part with, be purchased by the Commissaries for the use of the forces, except where it may happen to be the property of such as have already retired to, or may hereafter join, Lord Dunmore.

This Committee, considering the intelligence contained in the aforementioned letters from the Secretary of State, and reflecting on the uniform policy of the British Court, and the measures lately adopted in North Carolina, are fully convinced that our enemies are solely encouraged to make their wicked attempts upon such Colonies wherein they can expect the best assistance from the persons disaffected to the American cause; and are of opinion that the most likely means of securing this Colony from such attempts, will be to remove all suspicious persons beyond the influence of the enemy. This Board do therefore order, that all persons within the counties of Norfolk and Princess Anne, who have heretofore repaired to Lord Dunmore's standard and taken the oath prescribed by him, who thereby may have a reliance on them to aid his measures, do immediately remove themselves to some interior parts of this Colony, at least thirty miles from the enemy; and, the better to enforce such removal, it is further ordered, that all the male slaves of such suspected persons, above the age of thirteen, and also the like slaves of the persons within the limits aforedescribed, be immediately taken into the custody and safe-keeping of some officer at our posts in Norfolk and Princess Anne, to be conveyed to some place off navigation, and to be returned to the owners, after they shall have settled at some secure place, upon the further order of this Committee.

Resolved, That a sum of money, not exceeding one thousand pounds, be advanced to Willis Reddick, James Murdaugh, and Andrew Meade; and they are hereby empowered and requested to make proper provision for these necessary purposes, and, in general, to superintend this important business, and be assisting in the execution thereof, in the most humane manner the nature of the case will admit of. And it is earnestly recommended to all persons who can provide habitations for such persons so removing, to give notice thereof in the Virginia Gazette as speedily as possible.

JOHN PAGE, *U. P.*

## GENERAL LEE TO GENERAL ARMSTRONG.

Williamsburg, 10 April, 1776.

It has ever been the opinion of General Lee, that instructions to an officer how to act, in a distant command, is impertinence and more poltroonry. He desires, therefore, Brigadier-General Armstrong to use his own judgment and discretion in his command. He only requires that, immediately upon his arrival in South Carolina, he (General Armstrong) should make out returns of the strength, condition, and quality of the different corps, and in general of the force of the whole Province; that he should likewise inform himself, not only of the strength of Georgia, but of the politics and disposition of the people, and transmit the substance of his information on these subjects to General Lee, directed to Brigadier-General Howe in North Carolina, who will forward them to head-quarters, wherever they happen to be.

He hopes and recommends it to General Armstrong, that he will be jealous of ceding an inch of ground, as in slave countries so much depends on opinion, and the opinion which the slaves will entertain of our superiority or inferiority will naturally keep pace with our maintaining or giving ground. For these reasons, Charleston must be defended with the utmost obstinacy. If the enemy appear on the coast of South Carolina, and show an intention of lodging themselves in that Province, the Brigadier is to send an express immediately to the Major-General, and he is to assure the inhabitants, as an encouragement to act with vigor, that a strong force shall be immediately marched to their assistance.

## GENERAL LEE TO THE COMMITTEE OF SECRECY OF THE PROVINCE OF NORTH CAROLINA.

Williamsburg, 13 April, 1776.

GENTLEMEN,

I had yesterday the honor of yours of the 9th. The real ardor and public spirit of your Province, not only reflect great honor on its own character, but there is reason to think that your example will inspire others with that vigor and decision which are alone wanting to insure victory. Your resolution to

raise a body of light-horse is, in my opinion, most judicious. It is a species of troops without which an army is a defective and lame machine. I have proposed and urged it in this Province. They talk of adopting the measure, but nothing is as yet done. I could wish, Gentlemen, that your horses may be of the strongest sort, so that, on pressing occasions, a dragoon may be able to carry a foot soldier behind him.

I am sorry you are so deficient in powder. I have wrote to Congress on the occasion, and hope soon to be able to supply you. As to arms, I believe it will be impossible to procure them, unless you have on the frontiers a sufficient number of rifles. For my own part, I like them even better for the battalions than muskets, particularly if you can conciliate your men to the use of spears. I never had in my life any opinion of bayonets. My opinion may appear singular, but it is certain they never have been used, though we hear so frequently of marching with bayonets. For these reasons, I would propose that you should collect all the rifles possible. After having regulated the necessary business of this Province, I shall pay my respects, in person, to your Committee, and thank them, *visâ voce*, for the good opinion they are pleased to express of me; and am, Gentlemen, your most obedient, humble servant,

CHARLES LEE.

P. S. It is of the utmost importance that you provide a sufficient number of proper boats for the transportation of troops over your respective rivers.

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THOMAS BURKE, CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE OF SECRECY OF  
NORTH CAROLINA, TO GENERAL LEE.

Halifax, 22 April, 1776.

SIR,

We think it our duty to inform you that the body of British troops, under the command of Cornwallis, supposed to consist of three thousand men, are to land at Little River, about thirty miles to the south of Cape Fear; from thence to penetrate by the Lake Wiggaman into the interior parts of this Province, expecting a junction with the disaffected inhabitants, Highlanders and Regulators, whose residence and influence are principally in that vicinity. The Regulators and Highlanders, notwithstanding our

life—~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~these~~ <sup>these</sup>, are by no means subdued. Upon the  
~~idea~~ <sup>idea</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~receiving~~ <sup>receiving</sup> support from Governor Martin  
~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~his~~ <sup>his</sup> ~~respected~~ <sup>respected</sup> friends, we doubt not they will again be in  
~~harm's~~ <sup>harm's</sup> ~~way~~ <sup>way</sup>.

An intestine enemy in our bosom, a large body of British troops expected upon our sea-coast, only two regular regiments yet embodied for the service of this Colony, our militia diffused through a large, extensive Province, and the great difficulty of drawing them to act together at a point, with a great scarcity of fire-arms,—are circumstances which induce us to wish for your presence here immediately, and suggest the necessity of your affording us assistance from the Province of Virginia with all possible expedition, as the troops from Britain are every hour expected, and in all probability are now off this coast. Our militia are scarce recovered from the fatigue of their last campaign. You may, however, be assured that every thing may be expected from them, within their abilities, that the warmest attachment to the American cause and true spirit can inspire. Your presence would give them great confidence, and have a happy influence upon the whole military arrangements of this Colony. We have the honor to be, with great respect, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

THOMAS BURKE, *Chairman*.

#### GENERAL LEE TO GENERAL MOORE.

Suffolk, 23 April, 1776.

SIR,

I am at present occupied in clearing the country of the Tories. My perplexity with respect to the enemy's real design is, you may easily conceive, very considerable, since the overthrow of their plans by Colonel Caswell's victory. I cannot persuade myself that your Province will be their aim, but rather this or South Carolina. I am apt to think that their appearance at Cape Fear is rather a feint. However, I may be mistaken. Indeed, I can alone act from surmise.

If any further circumstances give you reason to believe that they really intend to make an impression in your Province, I beg you will inform me of it. You will likewise send me a minute detail of your strength and your weakness, in what you

are abundant, in what you are deficient. I will myself immediately join you, and bring with me what force you require, and I can procure. I am, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

CHARLES LEE.

EDMUND PENDLETON, PRESIDENT OF THE COMMITTEE OF SAFETY,  
TO GENERAL LEE.

Williamsburg, 5 May, 1776.

Sir,

I had the honor of laying your obliging favor of the 4th before the Committee of Safety, who are perfectly satisfied of your intention not to encroach on the civil authority, but to confine your operations to the proper line of military duty, of which you are so good a judge. On our parts, we beg leave to assure you, Sir, we shall be always ready to give you every necessary assistance in our power for accomplishing the great purpose we all have in view. When we reflect on the several reasons by you assigned for your proceedings at Portsmouth, we must approve of the whole of your conduct to those people; it being one of the inevitable consequences of this kind of war, that legal modes of inquiry must yield to necessity, and what the public safety seems to require should be immediately done, even though some injury may arise to innocent individuals, to whom the community may render compensation when tranquillity is restored.

On this last consideration, we request you will give directions to retain the molasses, salt, and other articles for the use of the public, and that, in the inventory thereof to be returned, each individual's property may be distinguished, as far as possible; that, if in any future period they can satisfy the legislature of their innocence (which, however improbable, is yet possible), the quantum of their loss may be ascertained. We are pleased that you confined the conflagration at present to the houses of a few of the most notorious offenders, since, although the reasons you urge appear forcible for the destruction of the whole, it may give more general satisfaction to have the subject first discussed by the representatives of the people, to whom, in their approaching session, we will communicate your favor, and transmit to you their resolution thereupon.



We are much obliged by the intelligence sent us respecting that arch-traitor, old Goodrich, who is so notorious an offender that we suppose there will be no difficulty in his conviction. We shall always have pleasure in keeping up a free and friendly correspondence with you; and are, with great respect, Sir, your most obedient servants,

EDMUND PENDLETON,  
*For the Committee.*

GENERAL LEE TO DANIEL OF ST. THOMAS JENIFER, PRESIDENT  
OF THE COUNCIL OF SAFETY OF MARYLAND.

Williamsburg, 6 May, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

I find that I am extremely censured, not only by your Board, but by a multitude of others, for my letter to Mr. Purviance, with respect to the seizure of Mr. Eden's person and papers. But I really think, when the circumstances are explained, that the censure will appear unjust, and that I was neither violent, assuming, nor precipitate.

When the Secretary of State's letter to your Governor was put into my hands, I naturally concluded that, could we possess ourselves of all Mr. Eden's papers, the whole machinations of the Ministry might be discovered, that this discovery might enable us to prevent their effects, and perhaps defeat the whole plan. The possession of these papers could not be hoped for without previously securing his person, and, to accomplish this, the utmost secrecy and expédition were necessary. Now, Sir, as I imagined you had no troops at Annapolis to execute the purpose (but in this I find I was mistaken), and as I knew there were troops in readiness at Baltimore, and as there was no Continental General or other officer in Maryland, Mr. Purviance, Chairman of the Committee, on the spot where I had conceived troops alone to be stationed, occurred to me as the only person to whom I could with propriety and effect make application. Had I known, Sir, that a regiment or any troops were stationed at Annapolis, I should undoubtedly have addressed myself to you, as President of the Council of Safety.

It is said, Sir, that Maryland was out of the district of my command; that, consequently, to intrude myself into the business and concerns of that Province was assuming and arrogant.

I really conceive, Sir, that when the safety or very being of the whole community appears at stake, the part I have acted in this affair cannot with justice be esteemed arrogance. I did not presume authoritatively to order, but, as one servant of the public, earnestly to entreat and conjure another servant, who alone appeared to me to have the means in his hands, to take a certain step of the last importance to the public cause. I must repeat, Sir, that my reason for addressing myself to Mr. Purviance at Baltimore, proceeded entirely from my ignorance of there being any troops at Annapolis, and not (as I have been told has been thrown out) from any diffidence in your virtue and decision. I suppose the Committee of Safety here viewed it in the same light, for I read my letter to them, and it was approved of.

In times like these, Sir, I conceive, that when we have received sufficient evidences of any treasonable practices being carried on, and that when it appears to us that the immediate seizure of a particular traitor's person may lead to discoveries on which the salvation of the State may depend, and when the utmost secrecy and expedition are necessary to the seizure of his person, it is the duty of a good citizen not to delay a single instant, if a single instant's delay may prevent the execution. This was the manner I thought it my duty to proceed in, in the case of Mr. Wormeley. On the discovery of his correspondence with the enemy, I gave orders for the security of his person and papers, and then referred the affair to the proper tribunal, the Committee of Safety; the measure was so far from giving umbrage, or creating jealousy, that it met with their unanimous approbation. If this method is proscribed, at a juncture like the present, the great check on dangerous correspondence and conspiracies will be taken off. If councils are to be held previously to the seizure of any traitor's person or papers, notwithstanding the strongest evidences against him, I am much mistaken if every traitor does not slip through your hands.

I must now, Sir, conclude with assuring you, and the respectable body over which you preside, that, if they suppose me capable of aiming or wishing to extend the military authority, or trespass on the civil, they do me the most cruel injustice. Although I was bred in the army, I thank God the spirit and principles of the citizen were ever predominant; and I solemnly declare that, if I thought it possible I should ever

be, or be intoxicated by military command, as to doubt or wish injudiciously to do civil supremacy in all things. I would now, while I retain my senses, beg leave to divest myself of my present office, and serve as a volunteer in the glorious cause in which I have embarked my person, fortune, and reputation. What I did in this affair, I did in the character of a common, zealous member of the community, not of an officer; what appeared irregular or offensive in the mode, I hope I have explained to your satisfaction; and I entreat, that it may be entirely attributed to a mistake, for which I am heartily concerned, as it has prejudiced me in the opinions of men whose esteem I am most ambitious of obtaining.

I am, &c.

CHARLES LEE.

GENERAL LEE TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Williamsburg, 7 May, 1776.

SIR,

I find the part I have acted in the business of Mr. Eden has given great umbrage to the Council of Maryland. I take the liberty of inclosing to you a copy of my letter to that Board on the occasion, as I hope it will appear to the Congress a full explanation and justification of my conduct. I shall not trouble them any more on the subject.

Five transports with troops are arrived at Cape Fear. I shall therefore set out on Thursday for Wilmington, by the way of Halifax. When we consider, Sir, the vast extent of the vulnerable parts of this country, the numerous navigable intersecting waters, the multitude of slaves, that we have not more than five thousand regulars fit for duty in the Province, that of these five thousand not more than three are properly armed, that to arm them (defectively as they are) the Province has been drove to the necessity of disarming the minute-men; I say, Sir, when these circumstances are considered, I shall appear, I hope, reasonable in entreating the Congress to spare us, if possible, some battalions, and of those battalions which are best armed. If indeed our minute-men were properly furnished with muskets and ammunition, if our rivers were already secured in the manner I propose, I should think myself capable of baffling all their attempts with our present force; but, situated as we are, my

anxiety for the common safety obliges me to solicit a reinforcement.

A letter from one of your members informs me, that five thousand blankets and five thousand pair of shoes are on the road for the use of this army. They are much wanted. The number is, I believe, sufficient. We are, as I observed before, wretchedly in want of medicines, as well as of a director to our hospital. Dr. McClurg is a very able man, and universally esteemed qualified for the office. The pay of the regimental Surgeons, established by Congress, is so low that it is, in this part of the world (where the common country practice of surgery is singularly lucrative) impossible to find capable men who will accept. But I am in hopes that the Convention will make such additions, out of the provincial purse, as to enable us to fill the commissions with proper and competent persons.

Now I am on the subject of pay, Sir, I must beg leave to urge the necessity of considerably increasing that of the Engineers. It is impossible that men qualified for this important office should be prevailed upon to serve on such miserable terms. You have no American Engineers. They must, of course, be foreigners, and foreigners expect, in their language *de quoi manger*; that is, something which will enable them to eat and drink. Twenty dollars a month will not enable them to eat, drink, and wear linen, or indeed any kind of clothes. Besides, it must be considered that these gentlemen are obliged, by the nature of their duty, to make more journeys than other officers, that horses must be purchased and fed, that the expenses of travelling are, in these southern provinces, very high. For these reasons, and many others, the pay of Engineers ought to be, as it is in all other services, greater than that of other officers. Upon the whole, Sir, I really do not think that they ought or can do with less than forty dollars per month, and rations at least for their horses. On more moderate terms I am persuaded you cannot procure men equal to the task, as the corps is distinct, and not numerous. This necessary addition of pay will be an expense beneath the consideration of the Congress.

Colonel Richard Henry Lee informs me, that it was not the intention of the Congress that Captain Innes's company should be reduced to make way for Arundel's, but that they should both be established. I think, Sir, it would be a useless expense. Captain Innes, who must, I am sure, be an excellent officer

to me. The department, professed himself ignorant in this matter: his officers were equally ignorant. Arundel has got possession of the company, and, by his activity and knowledge, will, I am persuaded, make them fit for service. Indeed, to establish an artillery company, Captain, subalterns, and non-commissioned officers being entirely composed of novices, can answer no end or purpose. It is my opinion, therefore, that, instead of these two companies proposed, the addition of thirty or forty men to Captain Arundel's, and two subaltern officers, will not only be better, but that it promises more advantage to the service.

Now I am on the subject of Captain Arundel, I beg leave to remind the Congress of what I mentioned with respect to his expenses on the road. There is one circumstance, of which I could wish to be ascertained. Is the expense of the defence of these rivers, that is, the construction of row-galleys, floating-batteries, tenders, &c., to be brought to the account of the Continent or of the Province? I wish to be ascertained on this head, because, if it is at the expense of the latter, I shall regularly propose to the Convention or Committee of Safety every scheme, which may be attended with expense, before it is entered upon. If the Quartermaster-General, or his deputies, when they despatch any teams from Philadelphia with powder or other necessaries, were to purchase the horses throughout for the Continental use, instead of hiring them, the saving would be considerable, for, in this country, the hire is intolerably dear, so great indeed, that I have ventured to order a number of teams to be purchased.

I have just received a vague return of the forces of North Carolina, of their powder and cannon. It does not appear that they have, of effective regulars, properly armed, more than two thousand; of powder, more than two tons and a half; and, as to cannon, they are almost totally destitute. As the enemy's advanced guard, if I may so express myself, is actually arrived, I must, I cannot avoid detaching the strongest battalion we have to their assistance; but I own I tremble, at the same time, at the thoughts of stripping this Province of any part of its inadequate force. I am puzzled to know how to direct my motions, from the uncertainty of the enemy's plan, but not dispirited, as I am confident that the Congress will afford me every relief in their power, and am not in the least diffident of the courage and zeal of the men and officers. I am, &c.

CHARLES LEE.

P. S. I have, as yet, heard nothing of Mr. Stabler, the Engineer. I ought, in fact, to have at least half a dozen, for we have a variety of posts to throw up, and there is not a man or officer in the army that knows the difference betwixt a *chevaux-de-frise* and a cabbage garden. I wish the Congress would indulge me with Mr. Smith, whom I know to be an able and active man. Massenbourg is a treasure. A little hurt in my hand obliges me to write by the pen of my secretary.

GENERAL LEE TO EDMUND PENDLETON, PRESIDENT OF THE  
CONVENTION OF VIRGINIA.

Williamsburg, 9 May, 1776.

SIR,

As I am obliged, by the arrival of the enemy, to repair to North Carolina, and am not less prompted by my zeal and affection for this Province, than obliged by my duty, to take every precaution for its safety before my departure; on this principle, I beg leave to lay before the Convention the following measures, which I conceive to be necessary.

1st. To devise some means for establishing a corps of cavalry; without which, an army is so extremely defective in every part of the world, and in none more than in this, for reasons which it might be tedious to enumerate.

2dly. Without delay to order some able pilots of every river to examine accurately the narrowest part of the channel of each river; what is the nature of the shoals which form these channels; whether they are solid, firm sand, gravel, or rock; what is the distance of the nearest part of the channel from either shore; what is the nature of the shore, whether it is high or low; for I am sanguine enough to hope, when these circumstances are ascertained, the navigation of most of the rivers may be shut up to the enemy, by means of batteries, either floating or fixed.

3dly. As these purposes cannot be effected without a large body of carpenters, smiths, and artificers of every sort, to establish some companies of them, subject to the military laws; for, without a coercive power, it is difficult, in this part of the world, to prevail on them to work.

4thly. As I understand there are prodigious flocks of sheep and cattle on the islands near the Eastern Shore, and as my

authority does not extend to whatever concerns property, that you will order immediately all this stock to be transported to the Continent; and, if this is impracticable, to kill them, as otherwise they must indisputably fall into the hands of the enemy.

5thly. As the eastern counties are, from their great abundance of all the necessaries of life, so tempting objects to the incursions of the enemy, and as I understand there will be no difficulty in procuring good men, I would humbly propose to the Convention to augment Colonel Fleming's regiment to the same strength of numbers with the other battalions.

I must now, Sir, beg leave to mention to the gentlemen of the Convention a very important matter of consideration; no less than the preservation of the lives of your soldiers. The Continental allowance to Surgeons and Surgeons' Mates of the regiments is so miserably small, and at the same time the common country practice of surgeons is so very lucrative in this Province, that it is not possible to find men, qualified for the station, who will accept; and, as I cannot venture to propose to the Continental Congress the increase of the pay of the Surgeons of the whole army, merely because this increase is necessary in my division, I must submit it to the judgment of the Convention, whether such an addition as to bring up the pay of these gentlemen to the original Provincial ordinance, will not be money well and necessarily expended.

I am, Sir, with the greatest respect, yours,

CHARLES LEE.

GENERAL LEE TO EDMUND PENDLETON, PRESIDENT OF THE  
CONVENTION OF VIRGINIA.

Wilmington, 1 June, 1776.

SIR,

The whole enemy's fleet have sailed from Cape Fear, the first division on Wednesday, the last yesterday; but it is far from being ascertained whether they have steered their course to the northward or to the southward. The people here are all of opinion that Charleston is their object. For my own part, I do not see on what they ground this persuasion. However, as South Carolina is weaker in numbers than Virginia, I have ordered Muhlenberg's regiment, at a venture, to Charleston immediately;



as also a detachment of seven hundred men from this place. I have been also under the necessity of stripping this Province of sixteen hundred pounds of gunpowder, which I must replace from Virginia.

As this Colony is now apparently no longer in danger, I shall send an express to stop your militia, as they may be wanted more in their own Province, and will now be an unnecessary expense. I shall myself set out for Charleston to-morrow, but at the same time confess, I know not whether I shall go to or from the enemy; but if that Capital is really their object, their whole force will be collected in one point, their operations will be more regular, and, consequently, my presence, as Commander-in-chief of the district, more requisite; whereas, if Virginia is their object, it is possible and probable their operations may be merely predatory and piratical. If such are their intentions, I am confident that your own officers will have little or no occasion for the advice or assistance (such as they are) of, Sir, &c.,

CHARLES LEE.

P. S. As I have not much time, and indeed there being no absolute necessity of troubling the Congress with any circumstances farther than expressed in this letter, I must entreat, Sir, that you will send a copy of it to the Congress.

GENERAL LEE TO COLONEL THOMPSON, AT SULLIVAN'S ISLAND.

Charleston, 21 June, 1776.

SIR,

It is a certain truth, that the enemy entertain a most fortunate apprehension of American riflemen. It is equally certain, that nothing can contribute to diminish this apprehension so infallibly, as a frequent ineffectual fire. It is with some concern, therefore, that I am informed that your men have been suffered to fire at a most preposterous distance. Upon this principle, I must entreat and insist that you consider it as a standing order, that not a man under your command is to fire at a greater distance than an hundred and fifty yards, at the utmost; in short, that they never fire without almost a moral certainty of hitting their object. Distant firing has a double bad effect; it encourages the enemy,

and adds to the pernicious persuasion of the American soldiers, namely, that they are no match for their antagonists at close fighting. To speak plainly, it is almost a sure method of making them cowards.

Once more, I must request that a stop be put to this childish, vicious, and scandalous practice. I extend the rule to those who have the care of the field-pieces. Four hundred yards is the greatest distance they should be allowed to fire at. Transgression of this rule will be considered as the effect of flurry and want of courage. Those who are accused of transgressing will be proceeded against, as acting from these principles. I have, Sir, the greatest opinion of your good sense and spirit, and flatter myself that you will not only issue orders of restriction on this head, but that you will be attentive that they are vigorously put in execution; and am, Sir, &c.,

CHARLES LEE.

P. S. I am likewise informed that your men pass, without order or orders, to Long Island. Is this wise? Is it soldier-like? Is it to show the enemy where our weakness is?

GENERAL LEE TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Charleston, 2 July, 1776.

SIR,

I should have done myself the honor sooner of informing the Congress of the attack made by the enemy's squadron on Sullivan's Island, and their repulse, but conjectured that, by waiting a day or two, I might probably be furnished with the means of sending a more minute, full, and satisfactory account. My conjecture was right; for, yesterday, five seamen made their escape, one of whom is a more intelligent fellow than commonly found amongst men of his level. Inclosed is a copy of their narrative. Some parts of it are, perhaps, too whimsical and trivial to merit the attention of Congress; but I think it my duty to present it as it is, without adding or curtailng a circumstance. I think, Sir, I may venture to congratulate the Congress on the event. Not only the advantages must be considerable, but the affair reflects no small credit on the American arms.

On Friday, about eleven o'clock, the Commodore, with his whole squadron, consisting of two line of battle ships and six frigates (the rates of which are marked in the inclosed narrative) anchored at less than half musket-shot from the fort, and commenced one of the most furious and incessant fires I ever saw or heard. It was manifestly their plan to land at the same time their whole regulars at the east end of the Island, and of course invest the fort by land and sea. As the garrison was composed entirely of raw troops, both men and officers, as I knew their ammunition was short, and as the bridge by which we could reënforce or call off the troops from the Island was unfinished, you may easily conceive my anxiety. It was so great, that I was in suspense whether I should evacuate it or no. Fortunately, whilst I was in this state of suspense, some ammunition arrived from the town; and my Aid-de-camp, Mr. Boyd, returning from the Island with a flattering report of the garrison's spirits, I determined to support it at all hazards.

On this principle, I thought it my duty to cross over to the Island, to encourage the garrison by my presence; but I might have saved myself that trouble, for I found, on my arrival, they had no occasion for any sort of encouragement. I found them determined and cool, to the last degree. Their behaviour would, in fact, have done honor to the oldest troops. I beg leave, therefore, to recommend, in the strongest terms, to the Congress, the commanding officer, Colonel Moultrie, and his whole garrison, as brave soldiers and excellent citizens; nor must I omit, at the same time, mentioning Colonel Thompson, who, with the South Carolina rangers and a detachment of the North Carolina regulars, repulsed the enemy in two several attempts to make a lodgment at the other extremity of the Island.

Our loss, considering the heat and duration of the fire, was inconsiderable. We had only ten men killed on the spot, and twenty-two wounded, seven of whom lost their limbs; but, with their limbs, they did not lose their spirits, for they enthusiastically encouraged their comrades never to abandon the standard of liberty and their country. This, I do assure you, Sir, is not in the style of gasconading romance, usual after every successful action, but literally fact. I with pleasure mention the circumstance, as it augurs well to the cause of freedom. At eleven the fire ceased, having continued just twelve hours, without the least intermission.

What the enemy's intentions are now, it is impossible to

daying. I am inclined to think they will (if they can repossess the bay) lead their course to the Chesapeake or Hampton Bay. Perhaps disease and rage may prompt their land forces to some attempt before their departure. On my part, I shall spare no pains to discover their intentions and to baffle their schemes.

As Georgia is a district of the command with which you have honored me, I thought it prudent to request some of their members to a conference with the President of this Province and myself. They accepted the invitation, and gave us great satisfaction from their intelligence and good sense. Inclosed is the substance of their deliberation.

The Province is certainly of the last importance to the common cause; and the mode of protecting it, pointed out by these gentlemen, is, in my opinion, in all its parts, wise and necessary. They had conceived a notion that I had powers to augment their establishment. I assured them I had no such powers, but both Mr. Rutledge and myself gave it as our opinion that any expenses, manifestly beyond their faculties, which they might incur in the common cause, would be repaid by the Congress; and, in this persuasion, we ventured to encourage them to augment their cavalry, without loss of time, and make the proposed present of cattle to the Indians. Indeed, Sir, without a strong corps of cavalry, I do not see how it is possible to protect these Southern Colonies; and with one thousand good cavalry, I think I could insure their protection. From the want of this species of troops, Charleston and its dependencies had certainly been lost, if the enemy had acted with the vigor and expedition we had reason to expect; but a most unaccountable languor and inertness on their part have saved us.

If the scheme I proposed in Virginia had been approved and adopted, it would have been not only a security, but considerable economy. The forage was to have been the only expense. Now I am upon the subject, I cannot help mentioning, that I have been informed that the project has been considered by some gentlemen as a sort of presumption in me in arrogating such a power; but I fancy the affair was not properly understood. I saw the immediate necessity of such a corps. I knew they could be raised immediately by these means, and at the same time I was given to understand, by several gentlemen of the Virginia Convention, that, should the Continental Congress disapprove of the expense (trifling as it was), there was little doubt of their Convention defraying it. But, in fact, the measure seemed neces-

sary for the salvation of the Provinces, and not a day was to be lost, which I hope will fully justify my conduct; and I must beg leave to repeat my assertion, that, without cavalry, these Provinces cannot easily be defended. I wish some means could be devised of reducing East Florida to an American Province; had I force sufficient, I should, with your permission, certainly attempt it. The advantages would be great and manifold. The augmentation of the Georgian cavalry I sincerely hope may be approved of by the Congress. Inclosed is the establishment and pay proposed for them.

I think the terms not high. I shall now, Sir, conclude with expressing the high satisfaction I have received from the zeal, activity, and public spirit of the gentlemen and inhabitants of this city and Province, from the President and Council down to the lowest order of the people; and with assuring you, that I have not, in my military capacity, met with the least obstruction or difficulty; but that we have all worked, in concert and harmony, for the common good. I most earnestly request you will pay my respects to the Congress, and be persuaded, Sir, that I am, most entirely and devotedly,

Your most obedient servant,

CHARLES LEE.

P. S. The Georgia troopers have, according to the establishment of their Congress, fifty shillings sterling a man, and rations for themselves, but find arms, horses, and forage. The Captain's pay is ten pounds sterling per month; the Lieutenants', six pounds; the Quarter-master's, four pounds.

Lord Dunmore has, I believe, at present with him only one ship of war. If any part of the Continental fleet should happen to visit Hampton Bay, at this juncture, it would defeat the whole scheme of the enemy's operations, at least for this campaign. But it is impossible to say how long his Lordship may remain in this weak condition.

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GENERAL LEE TO MAJOR-GENERAL CLINTON.

(Sent by a flag of truce.)

Charleston, 3 July, 1776.

SIR,

A certain Walker was, by a most whimsical concurrence of

wind and tide, hurried into the midst of our sentinels at the end of Sullivan's Island. He says he is master of a large transport, and has the principal property in the vessel. As the man would probably be ruined by this odd accident, Mr. Rutledge, President of the Province, and myself, would propose to you an exchange of this Walker for Ethan Allen; or, if he is not at present in your fleet or army, for any two of the Connecticut privates who were taken prisoners with Allen. I confess honestly to you, Sir, that I am extremely desirous of redeeming Allen and his whole party. You, I am sure, are liberal enough to compassionate the sufferings of those who think, at least, they are engaged in a righteous cause. In this persuasion, I propose to you an exchange, man for man, of these people with the soldiers of the fourteenth, who were taken prisoners at the Great Bridge, in Virginia. If, therefore, any of his party are at present in your custody, you will oblige me much in releasing them. I pledge my word and honor that an equal number of the fourteenth shall be sent from the place of their confinement to Lord Dunmore's camp, or wherever you think proper.

I take the liberty to request you will accept of a small quantity of fruit and vegetables, which, perhaps, in your situation, are not easily procured. This, I hope, you will consider as a testimony of the regard I have for your personal qualities. The President joins with me in a high opinion of Mr. Clinton.

I have, I am told, an intimate friend and comrade in your corps, Captain Primrose Kennedy, of the forty-fourth. I entreat you will assure him of my love and friendship, and send him a small portion of the fruit. Mr. Byrd, one of my Aids-de-camp, is the flag, who, I am confident, will be treated with all the respect due to his character. I am Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

CHARLES LEE.

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GENERAL LEE TO ARCHIBALD BULLOCK, PRESIDENT OF GEORGIA.

Charleston, 18 July, 1776.

SIR,

I feel most sensibly for the distressed situation of your Province, and am determined to exert my utmost for its relief. I wish I had it in my power to spare you a larger force than, I

am afraid, our present numbers will admit of; but, the instant we are assured the enemy will depart, I will order a battalion, or a number equal to a battalion, for Savannah. These, added to your own, will, I hope, be sufficient to protect the inhabitants from insult, and prevent your cattle from falling into the hands of these people, whose only crime is having been too long patient with administration. Two expeditions are now on foot; one, from this Province, against the lower Cherokees; another, against the Overhill Cherokees, from Virginia. I flatter myself that these two active operations will be a greater security to Georgia than could the largest defensive body. If the enemy stir southward, I shall myself march for your Province, with all the force I can muster; but I must regulate my motions by theirs. I most sincerely wish to your Province security and prosperity, and to yourself health and happiness; and am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

CHARLES LEE.

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GENERAL LEE TO JOHN RUTLEDGE, GOVERNOR OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

Charleston, 19 July, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

When I requested you to collect a number of boats for the transportation of troops to the Island, it was my intention to transport the greatest force I could possibly muster, to take the command in person, and endeavour to bring the enemy to a battle. Had we been victorious, there would have been an end of all their southern operations; had we been defeated, it is true the loss would have been great, but not irreparable. Upon the whole, balancing the important consequences of victory, and the disadvantages of a defeat, I should have been justifiable in risking a general action; but the number of boats collected would never have answered this purpose. They would contain, at the utmost, only twelve hundred men; a body too small to be detached on such an errand. In fact, islands present such manifold advantages to the enemy over us, that we must never venture on them without an assurance or great probability of a complete victory; because, if defeated, we have no possibility of retreat.

As the post on Long Island, and all schemes of attack, are now ended, I may mention these things to explain the motives



of my putting you to the trouble of collecting the boats: the whole may be now undoubtedly returned. Captain        tells me that, in this fleet of craft, there is one wooden boat, belonging to Major Capers, which might, with little alteration, be converted into an excellent galley. As we all agree a fleet of galleys may be of the greatest use, and that it should be established without loss of time, I should think that every boat which, with little trouble, can be thrown into that form, ought to be purchased. I am, &c.

CHARLES LEE.

P. S. I wish you would turn your thoughts to the defence of Georgia, and what regiment can best be spared from your Province for that purpose.

GENERAL LEE TO EDMUND PENDLETON, PRESIDENT OF THE CONVENTION OF VIRGINIA.

Charleston, 20 July, 1776.

Sir,

I think it my duty to apprise you that the enemy's fleet and army are now, in all human probability, on their departure from this coast; their troops are all reëmbarked; the Commodore's ship and the *Solebay* have repassed the bar; the *Experiment* and five other ships alone remain on this side, but are preparing to pass the next tide. It is impossible to say where they will bend their course, but I am myself inclined to think Virginia will be the scene of their operations. The deserters, indeed, assert, that it is their intention to proceed to New York; but it appears to me, from Lord George Germain's intercepted letter, that General Clinton is restricted to these southern Colonies. Perhaps they may try Georgia, the weakness of which Colony, and the expectation of a powerful coöperation on the part of their Indian allies, may allure them; but, on the other hand, the distressed situation of their fleet and army, from the want of good water, fresh provisions, and vegetables, will make the temptation of the table which Lord Dunmore, I understand, has spread for them on Gwyn's Island, irresistible. Upon the whole, I must repeat that I am persuaded Virginia will be their object. I hope and make no doubt, Sir, that you will be prepared for their reception.

I think it necessary, for the common service, to inform you that a corps of at least fifteen hundred men will be assembled on the Cherokee line in less than three weeks from the present date. This number is supposed to be adequate to the end proposed; that is, the destruction of the crops of the Lower Nation, and of course striking a necessary terror into the minds of the other nations. I mention this, as I apprehend the expedition projected against the Overhill Cherokees, from your Province, may have some dependence on the measures of the Carolinas against the Lower Nation. But although, being ignorant of the geography and circumstances of the country, I speak in the dark with regard to the relation which one expedition may have with the other, the informing you of the number of the Carolina corps, and the time they may be expected to enter the enemy's country, can be of no less service. As soon as I can be ascertained of the enemy's designs, I shall set out for the point of action, in hopes to render all the service in my power to the place attacked, as well as the common cause.

I am, Sir, with the greatest respect,

CHARLES LEE.

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SIR HENRY CLINTON TO GENERAL LEE.

Off Charleston Bar, 22 July, 1776.

SIR,

On my return to the fleet, I found a letter from you by a flag of truce, with some refreshments you were pleased to send me; in return for which, I must beg your acceptance of a cask of porter and some English cheese.

I have made inquiries concerning the person mentioned in your letter, who, it seems, has occasioned this correspondence between us, but can learn nothing further about him than that he is not a master of a vessel, as he has represented himself to you; and you will have been already informed, by Mr. Byrd, that Ethan Allen, and those that were with him, are gone to the northward. I am, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

HENRY CLINTON.

GENERAL LEE TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Savannah, 24 August, 1776.

SIR,

Your letter, with the thanks of the Congress, reached me at Petersburg. The approbation of the freely chosen Delegates of a free and independent people, is certainly the highest honor that a man of any sentiment can be ambitious of; and I shall consider it as a fresh stimulus to excite my zeal and ardor in the glorious cause in which I am engaged. May the God of Righteousness prosper your arms in every part of the Empire, in proportion to the justice with which they were taken up! Once more let me express the high satisfaction and happiness I feel in this honorable testimony; and once more let me assure the United States of America, that they cannot meet with a servant, whatever may be his abilities, animated with a greater degree of ardor and enthusiasm for their safety, prosperity, and glory.

The present state of this Province, its strength and weakness, I shall transmit to the Board of War, according to the directions I have received. Be persuaded, Sir, that I am, with the greatest respect, &c.,

CHARLES LEE.

## No. II.

### OPERATIONS OF THE NORTHERN ARMY IN OPPOSING THE EXPEDITION UNDER GENERAL BURGOYNE.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO GENERAL SCHUYLER.

Ticonderoga, 25 June, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL,

I informed you yesterday, that an encampment of the enemy had been discovered at Gilliland's Creek. Last night two of their vessels came up to Crown Point, and this morning there are seven lying at that place. The rest of their fleet is probably but a little lower down, as we hear their morning guns distinctly at different places. They have also debarked some troops, and encamped upon Chimney Point. Whether they have landed at Crown Point, or not, my scout-boat did not discover, not daring

to venture far enough down the lake, on account of the shipping; but I have sent out a scout on this side, which, I doubt not, will bring a just account of their situation.

I cannot help repeating to you the disagreeable situation we are in; nor can I see the least prospect of our being able to defend the post, unless the militia come in. And should the enemy protract their operations, or invest us, and content themselves with a simple blockade, we are infallibly ruined.

I have thoughts of calling for the Berkshire militia, which are nearest to us, and will probably be the most alert to come to our assistance, because they are in some measure covered by this post; but on that I shall consult the other General Officers. This, however, is clear to me, that we shall be obliged to abandon this side, and then they will soon force the other from us; nor do I see that a retreat will in any shape be practicable. Every thing, however, shall be done that is possible to frustrate the enemy's designs. But what can be expected from troops ill armed, naked, and unaccoutred? I shall write you again as soon as the scout returns; and am, dear General,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

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BROCKHOLST LIVINGSTON TO GOVERNOR LIVINGSTON.\*

Ticonderoga, 3 July. 1777.

DEAR SIR,

I wrote you on the 30th ultimo, advising you of the approach of the enemy. On the 1st instant the second division of their army arrived, in forty bateaux, about twenty men in each, and landed on the eastern shore of the Lake, opposite the Three-Mile Point. Yesterday they received a third reënforcement, in sixty bateaux. They have done little yet of any consequence, but continue playing their old game with the savages. Yesterday, in the

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\* Henry Brockholst Livingston was the son of Governor Livingston, of New Jersey, and was Aid-de-camp to General Schuyler, but was at this time acting in that capacity under General St. Clair. He usually omitted the first name in his signature. For many years he was one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, and died at Washington, March 18th, 1823. See Sedgwick's *Life of William Livingston*, p. 236.

afternoon, a party of these, with some Canadian and a few regulars, in the whole about two hundred and fifty, under the command of Captain Frazer, of the forty-seventh, attacked our picket guard of fifty men, and drove them in; then advanced, and for a short time kept up a scattering fire on the French lines. Our troops behaved with great coolness and resolution, and, after a few shots, made them retire to the woods. The loss the enemy sustained in this little brush is uncertain. We had one Lieutenant and five privates killed, and a Lieutenant and seven men wounded. These skirmishes are of infinite service to our troops, who are in general raw and undisciplined. They serve as preparatives to an action of the last importance, which we have reason hourly to expect.

Two Hessians have deserted to us, both very intelligent fellows. They agree that Burgoyne commands the army, and, under him, General Riedesel the German forces. Carleton has staid behind as Governor of Quebec and General of the troops in Canada. They have brought all the Hessians with them; in the whole, seven regiments and one battalion, besides four companies of dragoons. Their regiments consist in general of six hundred men. Their dragoons are not mounted, but come in expectation of getting horse at this place. Their supply of provisions is very short, from which it appears they mean a *coup de main*, and not a siege.

We are daily receiving additions to our strength. Colonel Warner is expected to-day with six hundred Green Mountain Boys. We also hourly look for General Schuyler, with a large body of militia from below. The spirits of our men were much raised yesterday with an account of a signal victory gained by General Washington over the enemy. We fired thirteen guns as a *feu de joie* on the occasion, just as we perceived a reinforcement of the enemy coming up.

To-morrow we shall give them a salute of the same kind, being the anniversary of the ever-memorable 4th of July, 1776, on which day we broke off all connection with slavery, and became the free and independent States of America.

In a letter of the 26th ultimo, I told you of my being a patient in the General Hospital. I have now the pleasure to inform you my complaint is removed, and my health perfectly restored. In the absence of General Schuyler, I have the honor of acting as Aid-de-camp to General St. Clair. You know his abilities too well to be informed of them by me. He is cool and

determined, ever vigilant, and unruffled by every appearance of danger. I flatter myself with the hopes of announcing to you, in a few days, the welcome news of the total defeat of the enemy. I am, dear Sir, with every sentiment of esteem and affection,

Yours, sincerely,

BROCKHOLST LIVINGSTON.

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GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO GENERAL SCHUYLER.

Dorset, 8 July, 1777, nine o'clock.

DEAR SIR,

About an hour ago, I received your favor of yesterday. I wrote you from Ticonderoga the night before we left it, to inform you that I intended to march to Skenesborough by the way of Castleton, and from thence to Fort Edward; but when I got to Castleton I found the enemy were in possession of Skenesborough, which obliged me to change my route.

On the march to Castleton, we fell in with a party commanded by Captain Frazer, who had been collecting cattle in the country. These were immediately dispersed, and a few prisoners taken; but, being reënforced by a strong detachment from Ticonderoga, they attacked, in the morning, the rear-guard of our army, who had imprudently stopped six miles short of the main body, and were, I believe, rather surprised; notwithstanding which they made a very obstinate defence, and, I have good reason to think, killed and wounded a great number of the enemy. As they were at too great a distance for me to support them, I sent orders to Colonel Warner, who commanded the party, in case he found himself too hard pressed, to retreat to Rutland, and join me. He is not yet come in, though I have heard that he is coming in with about a hundred men; and a great part of the other regiments, except Hall's, have already joined us.

I am in great distress for provisions. If I can be supplied at Manchester, I shall proceed directly for Fort Edward, or Saratoga, as circumstances may direct; if not, I shall be obliged to go to Bennington. I account myself very happy in effecting this retreat, as the loss of the army, small as it is, would have been a blow that this part of the country would have felt severely, and that must inevitably have happened in a very few days. Adieu, my dear General; I hope to see you soon, or things in a better train.

I am, Sir, your very humble servant,

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

BROOKHOLST LIVINGSTON TO GOVERNOR LIVINGSTON.

Fort Edward, 17 July, 1777.

DEAR SIR,

My last was on the 12th. In that I acquainted you with the evacuation of Ticonderoga, and the consequences resulting therefrom. I have the pleasure now to inform you that General St. Clair has joined us with his army. General Nixon's brigade is also arrived. Our force now, in Continental troops, is two thousand five hundred. The militia are about two thousand. With these is an army of six thousand regular disciplined troops to be opposed. The probability of success, under these circumstances, I leave you to judge of. A stand is to be made about three miles below this, at a place called Moses Creek, there being some advantageous heights to fortify. For my own part, I trust more to the woods for security than any fortresses we can raise. The enemy scarcely ever attack us in our works. When they do, they generally succeed.

General Burgoyne, finding it almost impracticable to come by Wood Creek (the passage of which we had obstructed by felling trees into it), has returned to Ticonderoga, in order to come by the way of Fort George. For this purpose they are carrying their bateauxs from Lake Champlain into Lake George. We have been so fortunate as to get off all our stores from Fort George, which were very considerable; and yesterday the garrison left it, after setting fire to the Fort, Hospital, Barracks, and other buildings. In removing our stores we left only two wagons, which were cut off by a scout of Indians.

We have no news from the westward, since my last. General Johnson has called a meeting of Indians, with intent, no doubt, to persuade those who are our friends to remain neutral, and permit him to pass through their country. General Burgoyne, on the back of his proclamation, has sent a summons to the people of the Grants to meet Governor Skene at Castleton, to be there acquainted with the terms on which they are to hold their property; and threatening with immediate death all who refuse their attendance. General Schuyler has sent them an address in answer to this. Copies of both, and also of the proclamation, I will send you as soon as I can find time to make them out. They begin to dispense their protections in great numbers. Those who take them, and are discovered, we send immediately to jail. I



shall be punctual in transmitting you every intelligence of consequence, and shall be happy in hearing from you in return.

I am your affectionate son,

BROCKHOLST LIVINGSTON.

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BROCKHOLST LIVINGSTON TO GOVERNOR LIVINGSTON.

Fort Edward. 21 July, 1777.

DEAR SIR,

Inclosed you will receive copies of Mr. Burgoyne's proclamation, his summons to the people of the Grants, and General Schuyler's answer thereto. Few occurrences of moment have transpired since my last of the 17th. Yesterday we received a flag from Skenesborough, by which Mr. Burgoyne was so polite as to return General Poor's baggage, and send home a prisoner or two on parole. The flag brought a letter from Colonel Skene to General Schuyler, desiring a personal conference with him on public affairs. The General, in answer, told him he could not open a correspondence in a public character with him while his superior officer commanded at Skenesborough; that he should always be willing to receive flags from General Burgoyne, or the officer commanding any detachment of the army; and that, if they were desirous of a conference, they should appoint an officer to hold it, and he would send one of equal rank on his side to meet him.

An Indian scout of ours returned this morning, and brought with them five prisoners. The enemy, not knowing we had Indians in our service, were decoyed, thinking them their own. The prisoners were taken near Skenesborough. They inform that the enemy are cutting a road to Fort Anne to bring up their cannon, and mean an attack on this place. I fancy they will find the game gone, it being the General's intention to move to a place five miles below this. Our strength is considerably reduced since my last, a great part of the militia being dismissed to reap their harvests. They were a most disorderly set, and deserted by whole companies.

Sir John has done little at the westward. Some of his savages scalped a Captain and killed a few men belonging to Gansevoort's regiment, at Fort Schuyler. I shall be happy in receiving a letter from you.

I am, dear Sir, yours, sincerely,

BROCKHOLST LIVINGSTON.

## GENERAL SCHUYLER TO GENERAL LINCOLN.

Saratoga, 31 July, 1777.

DEAR SIR,

Colonel Warner is on the Grants, with a small body of Continental troops and some militia, and expects to be reinforced in a day or two by General Stark, with a body of militia from New Hampshire.

You will please to repair to Manchester, the place where the troops above mentioned are collected and collecting, and take the command of the whole. As General Burgoyne is advancing towards us, and as a movement of a body of troops from the Grants towards Skenesborough will doubtless much embarrass him, and will certainly oblige him to have a considerable force at that place, you will move towards it, if the troops you should find there, or those that may join, are in such numbers as that you can do it without risking too much.

You will please to advise me, from time to time, of your situation and force, that I may be enabled to direct your future operations, according to what information I may get of the enemy's intentions. It is impossible to be more explicit in the present state of affairs. Events may arise, to which these orders could not possibly apply; you will, therefore, consider them as merely discretionary, and exercise your own judgment as contingencies may arise.

I am, dear Sir, with great esteem and regard,

PHILIP SCHUYLER.

## GENERAL LINCOLN TO THE COUNCIL OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Bennington, 10 August, 1777.

GENTLEMEN,

From a representation of the officers, and from my own observation, I find the men sent here from the county of Worcester, under the command of Colonel Cushing, left their homes in such haste, that they are by no means prepared to remain in camp any considerable time, and many of them had no opportunity to make that provision for their families left behind, which they would have done had they considered they were to have been long detained. General Schuyler hath repeatedly, in the most

pressing terms, urged that all the troops in the Grants, excepting one small regiment, should join him. Colonel Cushing's regiment, excepting some who have deserted, are this day to march for Stillwater, which most of them cheerfully undertake, notwithstanding their peculiar situation. I hope that, as early as men can be raised for a time limited, these will be discharged. This, as they come out upon an alarm, they do expect, and I am sure it will give quiet, and I think, on the whole, much promote the general interest.

The enemy have left the Grants. They collected their whole force at Fort Edward, and are moving down, and seem determined to possess themselves of Albany. I hope they will meet with a check before they reach it; I presume they will, if the militia expected arrive in time. There never was an opportunity when we could act with so great a probability of success against them as the present, for they have penetrated, and are penetrating far into the country, and have left a very naked and uncovered rear; therefore, never a greater call for the exertions of the people.

I am very sorry that I am obliged to inform your Honors, that, notwithstanding the evident pressing necessity for men at Stillwater to support our brethren there, a number of Colonel Cushing's regiment left it, on finding the enemy had quitted the Grants, and have returned or are returning home, contrary to the orders and advice of their officers.

They pretend to say, in their own justification, that they came out on an alarm, for a particular purpose, namely, to oppose the enemy on the Grants; and that, as Burgoyne has withdrawn his troops from that quarter, they are no longer held. Would it not be best, whenever they are ordered out, to limit the time of their service, and prevent, if possible, their entertaining an idea that they are bound to act in any one of the United States rather than another?

I am, &c.,

BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

GENERAL BURGoyNE TO LIEUTENANT-COLONEL BAUM.

Near Saratoga, 14 August, 1777.

SIR,

The accounts you have given me are very satisfactory, and I

doubt not every proceeding under your direction will be the same. I beg the favor of you to report whether the route you have marched will be practicable with a large corps of cannon, without repair, or with what sort of repair. The desirable circumstance for your corps is, at present, to possess Bennington; but should you find the enemy too strongly posted, and maintaining such a countenance as would make a *coup de main* hazardous, I wish you to take such a post as you can maintain till you hear further from me; and upon your reports and other circumstances, I will either support you in force or withdraw you.

You will please to send to my camp, as soon as you can, wagons and draught-cattle, and likewise such other cattle as are not necessary for your subsistence. Let the wagons and carts bring off what flour and wheat they can, that you do not retain for the same purpose. I will write to you in full to-morrow in regard to purchasing horses out of the hands of the savages. In the mean time, let them be assured that whatever you select from them, fit to mount the dragoons, shall be paid for at proper price.

I am, &c.,

JOHN BURGoyNE.

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GENERAL ARNOLD TO GENERAL GATES.

German Flats, 21 August, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL.

Your favor of the 19th instant was delivered to me last evening, and I am happy to hear that you are well and have joined the army. I beg leave to congratulate you on our late success over the enemy by the troops commanded by General Stark. I make no doubt it will have a happy effect.

I leave this place this morning with twelve hundred Continental troops, officers included, and a handful of militia, for Fort Schuyler, which is still besieged by a number equal to ours. Nothing shall be omitted that can be done to raise the siege. You will hear of my being victorious, or no more; and, as soon as the safety of this part of the country will permit, I will fly to your assistance.

General Herkimer died yesterday. I will make your compliments and return your thanks to the other gentlemen when I have the pleasure of seeing them.

I am credibly informed that General St. Leger has sent to General Burgoyne for a reënforcement. I believe it will not be in his power to spare them, except they have marched before the late action, which may be worth inquiring into.

I am, &c.,

BENEDICT ARNOLD.

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GENERAL ARNOLD TO GENERAL GATES.

Mohawk River, ten miles above Fort Dayton,  
five o'clock, P. M., 23 August, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL,

I wrote to you the 21st instant from German Flats, that, from the best intelligence I could procure of the enemy's strength, it was much superior to ours. At the same time I inclosed you a copy of the resolutions of a Council of War, and requested you to send me a reënforcement of one thousand light troops. As the enemy had made their approaches within two hundred yards of the Fort, I was determined, at all events, to hazard a battle rather than to suffer the garrison to fall a sacrifice. This morning I marched from the German Flats for this place. The excessively bad roads, and necessary precautions in marching through a thick wood, retarded us so much, that we have but this moment reached this place, where I have met with an express, with the inclosed letter from Colonel Gansevoort, acquainting me that the enemy had yesterday retired from Fort Schuyler with great precipitation. I am at a loss to judge of their real intentions, whether they have returned home, or retired with a view of engaging us on the road. I am inclined to the former, from the accounts of the deserters, and from their leaving their tents and a considerable baggage, which our people have secured.

I shall immediately detach about nine hundred men, and make a forced march to the Fort, in hopes of coming up with their rear, and securing their cannon and heavy baggage. My artillery, tents, &c., &c., I shall leave here. The bateaux, with the provisions, follow me. As soon as the security of the post will permit, I will return with as many men as can be spared. As I came down in bateaux, I shall be able to make despatch. I have sent an order for the light troops, if you have sent any, to return immediately, and the militia to go home.

I am, &c.,

BENEDICT ARNOLD.

## GENERAL LINCOLN TO THE COUNCIL OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Bennington, 25 August, 1777.

GENTLEMEN,

The evening before the last, I received a letter by express from General Gates, desiring me to meet at head-quarters, near Half Moon, yesterday morning, where General Clinton was also desired to attend, to confer upon a plan of our future operation. I met them, and returned here between two and three o'clock this morning.

The militia from the State of Massachusetts, and others, are to assemble in the Grants, where, probably, they will act for a time. It is General Gates's earnest desire that those of them who are to serve to the end of November may be forwarded here as soon as possible. To his request you will give me leave to subjoin my most serious solicitations, that every vigorous exertion to forward the troops with rapidity, in the power of the Council, may be adopted; for, in a very few days, if they are not here, the operations of the main body of the northern army will be delayed. I need not represent the many ill consequences, which may, and probably will take place, consequent thereon.

The militia from the county of Worcester, called for by General Stark, are coming into camp. I am sorry they did not, on the road, hear that I requested them to return and urge on the three months' men; for those who come out on the alarms cannot remain long in camp, and while they are out, the counties they respectively belong to will find it difficult to raise their three months' men. That consideration hath induced to suffer them to return.

I hear that to-morrow I may expect five companies of the three months' men. As soon as they arrive, I shall discharge the whole of Colonel Cushing's; for the discontent among them is so general that they will be of very little service here if they remain. One company of them left the camp the day before yesterday; some left us yesterday; some, to day; others, I hear, intend to leave us on the morrow. My situation at present is truly disagreeable; for what can make a man feel more so than to be accountable for the conduct of troops who do not hold themselves under obligation to obey? I expect matters will soon be in a better state.

I am, &amp;c.,

BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

## GENERAL ARNOLD TO GENERAL GATES.

German Flats, 28 August, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL.

The 24th instant, in the evening, I reached Fort Schuyler, but too late, after so fatiguing a march, to pursue the enemy that evening. Early the next morning, a detachment of five hundred men followed them. Soon after, a heavy rain came on, which obliged them to return, excepting a small party, who went to the Oneida Lake, where they arrived just in time to see the last boats of the enemy going off. The 26th proved a rainy day, so that it was impossible for the troops to move until the evening, when I sent off Colonel Livingston's and Colonel Jackson's regiments. Yesterday, Bailey's and Wesson's left Fort Schuyler, and arrived here last evening. The greatest despatch is made in getting their boats over the Falls.

You may depend on my joining you as soon as possible with my detachment, about twelve hundred men. Few Indians will be with me. The Oneidas and Tuscaroras, of all the Six Nations, are our only friends. The Commissioners have frequently told them that they wished them to observe a strict neutrality, and that they would never ask them to take up arms. I found their head men determined to follow the advice of the Commissioners; and therefore I did not urge the young men to join me, though I am told by Mr. Deane that most of them may be induced to do it. I have despatched a messenger to them, acquainting them that you wish to see them immediately; and that, as you are a warrior, they might naturally judge of the subject on which you would speak to them.

I have left Gansevoort's and Van Schaick's regiments, consisting of seven hundred men, at Fort Schuyler. One company of the latter garrisons Fort Dayton; and a second, Fort Johnson. They are supplied with two months' provisions, and a good store of ammunition.

I believe there is nothing to be feared from the enemy in this quarter at present. I have made your compliments and done your message to Colonels Gansevoort and Willett.

I am, &amp;c.,

BENEDICT ARNOLD.



## GENERAL BURGOYNE TO GENERAL GATES.

Head-Quarters of the King's Army,  
upon the Hudson River, 30 August, 1777.

SIR,

Major-General Riedesel has requested me to transmit the inclosed to Lieutenant-Colonel Baum, whom the fortune of war put into the hands of your troops at Bennington.

Having never failed in my attentions towards prisoners, I cannot entertain a doubt of your taking this opportunity to show me a return of civility; and that you will permit the baggage and servants of such officers, your prisoners, as desire it, to pass to them unmolested.

It is with great concern I find myself obliged to add to this application, a complaint of the bad treatment the Provincial soldiers in the king's service received after the affair at Bennington. I have reports, upon oath, that some were refused quarter, after having asked it. I am willing to believe that this was against the order and inclination of your officers; but it is my part to require an explanation, and to warn you of the horrors of a retaliation, if such a practice is not, in the strongest manner, discountenanced and reprehended.

Duty and principle, Sir, make me a public enemy to the Americans who have taken arms; but I seek to be a generous one; nor have I the shadow of resentment against any individual, who does not induce it by acts derogatory to those maxims upon which all men of honor think alike.

Persuaded that a gentleman of the station to whom this letter is addressed, will not be comprised in the exception I have made,

I am, personally, Sir, &c.,

JOHN BURGOYNE.

## GENERAL FRASER TO GENERAL GATES.

1 September, 1777.

SIR,

I have it in charge, from his Excellency Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, to desire that you would have the goodness to give directions for transmitting to me a return of the British officers and private men who were made prisoners at the skirmish near

Bennington, specifying the wounded, the nature of their wounds, and the manner in which they are attended. If any aid of surgeons or medicines should be wanted, the Lieutenant-General wishes to forward it without delay. The manner in which we have treated such of your officers and men as have fallen into our hands, gives me reason to expect that every degree of care will be extended to those brave men whom the fate of war has put in your power.

I send an open letter to the senior British officer now in your hands, and desire the favor of you to forward it. I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

SIMON FRASER.

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GENERAL GATES TO GENERAL FRASER.

Head-Quarters, 2 September, 1777.

SIR,

Last night I was favored with your letter of yesterday's date. The return you request is by this conveyance transmitted to his Excellency General Burgoyne. Surgeons, medicines, and attendance, with every comfort imaginable, have been amply supplied to the sick and wounded officers and soldiers, prisoners at Bennington, as it is the wish of every generous mind, that the calamities of war should lie as light as possible upon unhappy individuals who are wounded or taken. You will be satisfied these are my sentiments when you examine Ensign and Quarter-master Sanders, who were brought by one of my scouts, last year, to Ticonderoga. In Brigadier-General St. Leger's retreat from Fort Stanwix, and during the siege thereof, some British officers and soldiers have fallen into our hands. As soon as I know their names, they shall be sent to you in writing. Your letter, addressed to the senior British officer, is sent to Bennington. I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

HORATIO GATES.

## GENERAL LINCOLN TO GENERAL GATES.

Bennington, 4 September, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL,

The person I sent to General Burgoyne is returned. He had an opportunity to confer with him, with Fraser and others, and was suffered to return into the country, under the character of a Recruiting Officer. He informs me that the flying camp is about three miles below Fort Miller, on the east side of the river, and consists of seventeen hundred men; that the American troops are about half a mile above them, and he supposes there are about fifteen hundred of them. About one mile above, is the German camp; then the British head-quarters, number unknown. At Fort Edward there are about three hundred men, commanded by a Major; about one hundred and fifty at Fort George; about five hundred at Ticonderoga. By every appearance, the enemy's designs are to move down the river. This is confirmed by every person who comes out.

My informant gives it as his opinion, from the best evidence he could collect, that there are about six thousand European troops on the south of Lake Champlain. I hear, by another person who left Fort Edward the 30th ultimo, that the enemy had sent one English regiment, and fifteen or sixteen light field-pieces, to Fort Anne; and that, on the 2d instant, General Burgoyne intended to remove his heavy cannon to Stillwater. I hope you will take possession before him, as I know, in that case, you will seriously dispute title with him; and doubt not but you will convince him that his claim is insupportable.

I have sent to the officers, civil and military, and to a number of private gentlemen in the county of Berkshire, desiring their aid to the Commissary, by furnishing him with teams to forward on the flour here as fast as possible. I have received a quantity of ammunition from General Heath; have now a good supply, and have good reason to believe that I shall have a sufficiency of flour. Beef we have in plenty. I have the honor to be, dear General,

With the warmest sentiments of regard and esteem, &c.,

BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

## GENERAL LINCOLN TO GENERAL GATES.

Pawlet, 11 September, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL,

I am honored with your favor of the 10th instant. General Stark, by his last letter, informed me his troops should join your Honor; since which, I have heard of his march; therefore have inclosed your letter to him. I should not have been short of ammunition, had the militia from the Massachusetts attended to the orders of the Court, and had the ball sent from Springfield and Albany been of a size suitable for the muskets.

On our movement this way, the few enemy, who were at Skenesborough, left it, after burning a number of boats. We have in camp about two thousand men, and now a prospect of a supply of flour. On the return of the scouts, now out, I expect a good account of the enemy's situation; shall not fail, immediately, by scouts and heavier detachments, to attempt giving that diversion to General Burgoyne which we contemplated my movement here would effect.

I am, &amp;c.,

BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

## GENERAL LINCOLN TO COLONEL BROWN.

Pawlet, 12 September, 1777

SIR,

You will please to take the command of five hundred men, and proceed, in the best route, to cross the Narrows, as soon as may be, to the landing at the north end of Lake George; and, if you find any of our men prisoners there, you will relieve them, and destroy all such boats and stores belonging to the enemy as may fall within your power; and if, upon inquiry, you find that you can attempt Ticonderoga, without risking too much, you will do it. As in all your movements you must be regulated by the information you receive of the situation of the enemy, which may be such as to render it impossible to execute these orders, you are, therefore, to consider them as discretionary; and, if you find matters different from what hath been represented, and you cannot prosecute the above plan, you will adopt such an one, as, in your opinion, will most annoy, divide, and distract the enemy.

You will give me, from time to time, the earliest information possible of your movements, and of the discoveries you shall make. I wish you success.

And am, dear Sir, &c.,

BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

GENERAL LINCOLN TO GENERAL GATES.

Pawlet, 14 September, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL,

I just now received your favor of yesterday's date. By a scout, who has been near Fort Edward, and from one of the inhabitants in that neighbourhood, I have a confirmation of the enemy's movements mentioned in your letter. I think it is not probable that their design is on your post. However, I will keep the most watchful eye over them, and, if possible, prevent a surprise.

On being informed by almost every person who came in, as well as by the letter you inclosed to me from General Palmer, of the weak state of Ticonderoga, and also advised that a considerable number of our men were prisoners in the enemy's hands, and kept at Lake George Landing, under a very small guard, at which place the enemy had a large magazine of stores; and supposing a movement that way would perfectly coincide with the original design of my being sent here,—namely, if possible to divide and distract the enemy,—I was induced yesterday, with the advice of the officers, to send Colonel Brown, with five hundred men, to the landing at Lake George, to relieve the prisoners and destroy the stores there; the same number of men under Colonel Johnson to Mount Independence; the latter to give a diversion to the enemy, while the former should execute his commission, and, if an opportunity should offer, without risking too much, to push for Mount Independence, while Colonel Brown would attempt Ticonderoga, and, farther, to amuse and divide the enemy by attacking their outposts, &c. A like number of men were sent under Colonel Woodbridge to Skenesborough, thence to Fort Anne, and on to Fort Edward.

I hope these movements will meet your approbation. I should have mentioned the design before, and not have put the plan in execution without your advice, could I have been sure the information would not have fallen into the hands of the enemy. I

supposed that you intended to hint to me your apprehension of danger in this way, and that I must be cautious as to what I wrote, when, in the close of your favor of the 10th, you say, "I desire you will not fail frequently to acquaint me with your movements, and, as far as is prudent, with your designs."

I am, &c.,

BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

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GENERAL GATES TO GENERAL LINCOLN.

Camp. Heights above Belmus, 19 September, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL,

It is the opinion of all the Generals that I have consulted with, that, in the present position and circumstances of General Burgoyne's army, considered with his apparent views, your army ought to be posted at Stillwater, and that not one moment should be lost in your marching them thither. Upon your arrival there, you will take possession of the height upon the east side, and fix five or six hundred men thereupon. The rest you will encamp at the old station. General Burgoyne has not left the smallest article at any of the posts in the rear. This, I informed you of in my last. You will march by the shortest route to Stillwater. Provisions, &c., shall be provided for you there.

I am, &c.,

HORATIO GATES.

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GENERAL LINCOLN TO COLONEL BROWN.

Pawlet, 21 September, 1777.

DEAR COLONEL,

All your movements since you left this place have [been] very agreeable to me. I am greatly obliged to you for your exertions, and am glad to hear, that with spirit the officers and men under you have distinguished themselves. You are all entitled to the thanks of the public; mine you have most cordially.

I had no idea, when I wrote to General Bayley, to which letter you refer, of your retreating while there was a probability of success; neither do I now wish it. Colonel Woodbridge will afford you all the assistance in his power. I had yesterday

General Gates's *repeated* orders to join him at Stillwater. I must do it myself with all the troops I can collect here. He had a skirmish, the night before last, with the enemy. He took two hundred and fifty prisoners and three field-pieces. General Warner and you must act your own judgments with respect to attacking the enemy's lines, continuing the siege, or retiring. I am this moment going to set off; expect to see General Gates to-morrow. I shall leave General Bayley at Castleton, who will afford you every in supplies.

I am, &c.,

BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

P.S. While at Skenesborough, I could get no advice from you, and supposed our expresses were cut off. Indeed, I was confirmed in this opinion, after being informed that one of our boats was fired on by the Tories, and one man killed. The boat went, as afterwards I was told, into East Bay. I therefore took post for one night at Castleton.

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GENERAL LINCOLN TO THE COUNCIL OF MASSACHUSETTS.

23 September, 1777.

GENTLEMEN,

I marched from Manchester to Pawlet, with the troops who had joined me, on Monday, the 8th. On the 14th, a party of five hundred men, commanded by Colonel Brown, was ordered to cross the Narrows in South Bay, and march for the Landing at the north end of Lake George, to destroy the enemy's boats and stores, and relieve a number of our men, prisoners there; and if, upon inquiry, he found an attempt upon Ticonderoga might be made without risking too much, he was to do it. A like number was sent to Mount Independence, under Colonel Johnson, in order to divert, at least, the enemy there, and take off their attention from our real object, and to attack it, if a favorable opportunity should offer. At the same time, another party of about five hundred was sent, under Colonel Woodbridge, to Skenesborough, who were to cover Colonel Brown, and march on towards Fort Edward, and give the enemy a diversion in that quarter.

The success Colonel Brown hath met with, you learn by the inclosed, which is a copy of his letter to me. He hath acted



with great spirit, and informs me that his officers and men have behaved with bravery.\* General Warner is with Colonel Johnson, at the Mount, and hath the general direction of the three parties. He informs me, that no opportunity hath offered by which he might attack the lines at Mount Independence with a probability of success. I feel myself very happy in having him there, for I have the greatest confidence in his prudence, fortitude, and zeal. General Bayley, who was Colonel Bayley in the last war, of the State of New Hampshire, now on the Grants, an experienced, good officer, is left at Castleton, in the neighbourhood of the enemy, and will forward supplies, and join the troops, if necessary.

I moved, on Wednesday, the 17th, to Skenesborough, and marched that way about seven hundred men, with an intention to move towards the North River; but the day after, before the troops reached me there, I had information from General Gates, that the enemy had abandoned all their posts in their rear; and proposed I should fall on the enemy's left flank. I immediately remarched the seven hundred men on their way back, near to Pawlet. The next day, by two expresses, I received General Gates's orders to take post at Stillwater; for the enemy had not only abandoned the posts in their rear, but had broken down all the bridges immediately on passing them, which evidenced General Burgoyne's intention to move forward, at all events.

I left Pawlet the day before yesterday (Sunday), arrived here last night, and expect the troops in this evening or in the morn-

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\* This letter has not been found. The following extract from a letter written by Colonel Brown to General Gates, dated "North End of Lake George, September 18, 1777," and published in the newspapers of the time, gives the particulars of his success against the enemy.

"With great fatigue, after marching all last night, I arrived at this place at break of day, and after the best disposition of the men I could make, immediately began the attack, and, in a few minutes, carried the place. I then, without loss of time, detached a considerable part of my men to the mill, where a great number of the enemy were posted, who also were made prisoners; a small number of whom having taken possession of a block-house in that vicinity, were with more difficulty brought to submission; but at the sight of the cannon they surrendered.

"During these seasons of successes, Mount Defiance also fell into our hands. I have taken possession of the old French lines at Ticonderoga. I have sent in a flag, demanding a surrender of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence in the strongest and most peremptory terms.

ing, twelve or fourteen hundred. The number sent out is far short of what I expected. There hath been in the Grants but about three thousand, including three small regiments of Continental troops, the rangers from the Grants and part of their militia, the militia from Berkshire, who came for twenty days only, with all the Massachusetts three months' men.

The prisoners taken at Ticonderoga may soon be expected at Boston, to which place General Gates hath ordered them. An attack on this post, from the enemy, is hourly expected.

BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

GENERAL GATES TO GENERAL PUTNAM.

Albany, 2 November, 1777.

DEAR SIR,

Governor Clinton will present you my letter to him of this date, which contains my unalterable sentiments of the measures which ought to be taken, should Sir Harry Clinton attempt to succour or reënforce Sir William Howe. I will not again repeat them here, but only take the liberty earnestly to recommend the profoundest secrecy in whatever you determine to do; for, depend upon it, that that consummate, artful woman, Mrs. Robinson, will do all in her power to be acquainted with your secrets.

As to any attack upon New York, I utterly disapprove of it; for, while the enemy's ships of war can act in the North and East Rivers, the taking of that city would be doubtful, and, if

I have had as yet no information of the event of Colonel Johnson's attack on the Mount. My loss of men, in these several actions, is not more than three or four killed, and five wounded. The enemy's loss is less. I find myself in possession of two hundred and ninety-three prisoners, namely;—two Captains, nine subalterns, two Commissaries; non-commissioned officers and privates, one hundred and forty-three British, and one hundred and nineteen Canadians; eighteen artificers; and retook more than one hundred of our men;—total, two hundred and ninety-three, exclusive of the prisoners retaken. The water-craft I have taken is one hundred and fifty bateaux, above the Falls; in Lake Champlain, fifty, above the Falls, including several large gun-boats and an armed sloop; arms equal to the number of prisoners; some ammunition; and many other things which I cannot as yet ascertain. I must not forget to mention a few cannon, which may be of great service to us."

taken, could not be held; and be assured, that all stores, of any value to us, are or will be afloat, before any large detachments leave that city, and I can see no good in taking an empty town, which we cannot hold. Of course it is not an object to divert the attention of the King's Generals from their more important designs.

I am, &c.,

HORATIO GATES.

THOMAS CHITTENDEN TO GENERAL GATES.

In Council, Bennington, 22 November, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL,

I have the pleasure to inform your Honor of the success of our Green Mountain rangers, in harassing the enemy's rear on their retreat from Ticonderoga, in which Captain Ebenezer Allen, with fifty rangers, has taken forty-nine prisoners, upwards of one hundred horses, twelve yokes of oxen, four cows, and three of the enemy's boats, &c. &c.

Major Wait, who was sent to take possession of Mount Independence, found nothing of consequence, excepting several boats which the enemy had sunk, in which there were some provisions. All barracks, houses, and bridges were burnt; cannon, to the number of forty, broken and spiked up. He was so fortunate as to take one French sutler, with some rum, wine, brandy, &c.

Agreeably to your Honor's request for Colonel Warner to come to Albany, express was sent, and he is to set off for Albany this morning. I have the honor to be, by order of Council,

Your Honor's most obedient, humble servant,

THOMAS CHITTENDEN, *President*.

N.B. I beg your Honor's directions how to dispose of the prisoners.

GENERAL BURGOYNE TO GENERAL GATES.

Cambridge, 11 February, 1778.

SIR,

I received the resolves of the Congress, of the 8th of January, with an astonishment that no occurrence ever before occasioned.

It would be misplaced to enter now into any reasoning upon the subject.

I apply to you, Sir, as an individual whom I believe to have honor, humanity, and generosity. My Aid-de-camp has directions to communicate to you my letters to the Congress. I leave to your feelings to support that which regards my private situation, only begging leave to recall to your recollection the offer you made, in regard to my personal embarkation. In the full persuasion of the integrity of that proposal, I thought not of entering into reasonings and justifications in my public or private letters from Albany, in any such degree as the delicacy of a soldier's character required, after a series of the most critical situations, difficult attempts, and diversified ill success. To die in this country, is nothing; but to leave my honor unvindicated in my own, is more than philosophy or fortitude can be expected to bear.

I confide in you, to consider this entirely as a private letter, and am,

With sincere regard, Sir, &c.,

JOHN BURGoyNE.

GENERAL GATES TO GENERAL BURGoyNE.

York, 2 March, 1778.

SIR,

I am exceedingly mortified that you did not accept of my offer at Albany, to go to England in a vessel, that the State of Massachusetts Bay would, at my request, have provided. General Glover, with whom you are acquainted, was, in that case, to have attended you in his own ship; and I am persuaded you would have avoided many disagreements, had it pleased you to have accepted that offer. Your case I feel, as I ever shall that of the unfortunate brave. If courage, perseverance, and a faithful attachment to your Prince could have prevailed, I might have been your prisoner. The chance of war has determined otherwise.

The Congress now send the passports you desire; and I am happy to acquaint you, that the Major and Lady Harriet Ackland are in New York, and may possibly be in England as soon as, or very soon after you. With respect, I am, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

HORATIO GATES.

## GENERAL LINCOLN TO COLONEL JOHN LAURENS.

Boston, 5 February, 1781.

MY DEAR SIR,

In compliance with your wish, that I would give you the outlines of the several movements I made in the Northern department, in the year 1777, after General Gates reassumed the command, to my being wounded on the 8th of October, I offer the following short state of the matter.

General Gates's arrival in camp at the Sprouts, about twelve miles above Albany, was announced to me in Bennington, on the 19th of September, by his letter of that date to General Stark, in which he requests our ideas of a plan for the future operations of the campaign. We were fully of opinion, that a body of militia should be collected in the Grants, and move in the rear of General Burgoyne, as this measure would oblige him to make heavy detachments to secure the several posts necessary to cover his rear, on the doing of which the salvation of his army might depend. He would also be obliged to escort his provision-wagons, which would serve to weaken his main body, as General Gates would have little to fear in front. Besides, this movement would cover a large and valuable country, filled with provisions, and restrain the unfriendly.

Immediately on General Gates receiving this letter, he ordered me to attend him at head-quarters. At that interview I explained to him fully the reasons on which our opinion was grounded. He acceded to the propriety of the measure, and ordered me back to Bennington, to receive the Massachusetts militia, who had been ordered on, and to make the necessary arrangements to act in conjunction with him on a general plan. On the 2d of September, the Commissary reported that there was a deficiency of flour, which was an alarming circumstance, as our division was to consist of militia, who cannot long be held, without proper attention is paid to their supplies. I immediately wrote to the officers, civil and military, in the county of Berkshire, requesting their attention to this matter, and their aid to forward the flour stored in that part of the country. They, and the people at large, stimulated by the most laudable motives, soon gave us, though the transportation was extremely difficult, the most ample supply. From an apprehension that it might be too long delayed, I wrote to that county for a body of their militia, and

requested that they would come mounted, each bringing his sack of flour.

On the 7th, having received some supplies, and good assurance that a sufficiency would be sent on, we moved to Manchester, with the troops which were collected, and gave orders for others to follow as they arrived. On the 8th, I reached Pawlet with part of the troops. Here we halted for the arrival of the remainder, and the stores, and to know the situation of the enemy, and because it was a strong post, both of our flanks being covered by mountains, in most places impassable, forming, at this place, almost the point of an acute angle, not unlike *my ideas* of the strength of Thermopylæ. Thus far we could pass with wagons.

On the 13th, our little army being collected, which consisted of two thousand five hundred men, and the stores being arrived,—to execute our general plan, which was to annoy, divide, and distract the enemy, Colonel Brown was sent with five hundred men across the Narrows (part of Lake Champlain, or, as it is sometimes called, South Bay), to the north end of Lake George, with instructions to destroy all the boats and stores there belonging to the enemy, and, if possible, to relieve our prisoners at that post. Colonel Johnson was ordered, with a like number of men, to Mount Independence, with instructions to attempt that post, to favor the designs of Colonel Brown. Colonel Woodbridge was ordered with five hundred men to Skenesborough, with instructions to proceed to Fort Anne, and from thence to attempt the enemy's post at the Mills, if it could be done without risking too much. Hereby he became a cover to Colonel Brown, and secured his retreat, if nothing more could be effected. In order to give despatch to these enterprises, and ease to the troops, the horse, which I wrote for from Berkshire to come on with sacks, having arrived, they were divided among the three commands, and took on the flour. The beeves were kept on foot. A number of militia light-horse were ordered on, with their saddle-bags filled with spare cartridges. Thus the men moved very light, and with great despatch.

On the 17th, after leaving four hundred men to cover the stores at Pawlet, I moved with six hundred towards Skenesborough, in order to join Colonel Woodbridge, the more effectually to cover Colonel Brown; at which post I intended Colonels Brown and Johnson should join me, in order to move in force into the rear of General Burgoyne.

Colonel Johnson arrived in time before Mount Independence,

and remained there a number of days: but, finding the enemy too well covered to attempt an assault with a probability of success, he returned when ordered. The enemy having evacuated their posts in their rear, it became unnecessary for Colonel Woodbridge to proceed farther than Skenesborough. Colonel Brown's success you have fully represented in the following extracts from his report to me.

On the 19th, I received a letter from General Gates, approving the measures I had taken, and expressing his wish that I would take a different post, as General Burgoyne had totally neglected his rear. I then ordered the troops, who were on their march to Skenesborough, to return to Pawlet. On the 20th, I received his orders to take post at Stillwater. This laid me under the necessity of giving orders to our troops, before Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, to return and join me at Stillwater, as soon as they should have succeeded, or all hopes of success should be cut off; and, after leaving a proper guard at Pawlet, to march the troops, not on command, to Stillwater. I left them, on the 21st, to be marched by their proper officers, and reached head-quarters at Behmus's Heights, in the evening of the 22d.

After my arrival in camp, the General gave me the right wing of the army, which consisted of Nixon's, Glover's, and Patterson's brigades, and the Massachusetts militia, as they arrived from the expedition northward. Thus matters remained, without any thing very particular, until the 7th of October. In the afternoon, the enemy moved with their right towards our left. The light troops were sent out to skirmish with them, to retard and observe their motions; for the General was apprehensive that they meant a feint on the left while they should attempt a real attack on our right. The light troops were reënforced by Poor's and Learned's brigade on the left. As the action became serious, they were reënforced by militia and detachments from the right. Towards evening, General Gates ordered me to move with the right, and attack the enemy's left; but it became so dark before we could reach their line, that nothing happened there but some skirmishing between the advanced parties. Their right suffered greatly, and were driven within their lines; and some of their outworks were carried by our people, and the day ended gloriously on our side.

I received orders to move by daylight, in the morning of the 8th, with the right, and attempt the enemy's lines. We advanced



three brigades, each brigade forming a column, and marching from its own campment. At the same time, there was a movement on the left. On the approach of our advanced corps, the enemy, after exchanging a few shots, left their lines, to be possessed by us, and took post on a height in the rear of their lines. Soon after this I received a wound in my leg, which prevented my remaining longer in the field; and my long ill health prevented my remarking further particulars on the campaign, which ended with so much advantage to America, and so justly to the honor of General Gates.

I am, my dear Sir, &c.,

BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

### No. III.

#### OPERATIONS ON HUDSON'S RIVER.

GENERAL PUTNAM TO GOVERNOR CLINTON.

Head-Quarters, Peekskill, 29 September, 1777.

DEAR SIR,

By order from General Washington, all the troops from this post, except about eleven hundred Continental and four hundred of the militia, are withdrawn. I have received intelligence, on which I fully depend, that the enemy had received a reinforcement at New York, last Thursday, of about three thousand British and foreign troops; that General Clinton has called in guides, who belong about Croton River; has ordered hard bread baked; that the troops are called from Paulus Hook to King's Bridge, and the whole troops are now under marching orders.

Under these circumstances, and from a variety of other considerations, I think it highly probable the designs of the enemy are against the posts in the Highlands, or some part of the counties of Westchester or Dutchess. Should their attack be upon the posts in the Highlands, you cannot have the least expectation the posts can be maintained, with our present force, against the strength the enemy may, or probably will send. When you consider the infinite importance of the post to the general interest of the country, and of this State in particular, I cannot entertain

a doubt of your immediate attention to the defence of it. Unless a greater force than at present is here, or appears probable to be here, is supplied for the defence of the post, you must be sensible I cannot be answerable for the defence of it. I therefore beg you to pay an attention to this important post, and afford me a reinforcement of the militia, that will enable me to maintain it. If it is possible for you to pay a personal attention to this object, I shall be happy in your counsel and assistance, and am, dear Sir,

Your very humble servant,

ISRAEL PUTNAM.

P. S. I received your favor of the 28th instant, and shall observe the contents. The ships are drawn up in the river, and I believe nothing prevents them from paying us an immediate visit, but the contrary wind.

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GENERAL PUTNAM TO GOVERNOR CLINTON.

Peekskill, eight o'clock in the evening, 4th October.

DEAR SIR,

This morning we had information from our guard-boats, that there were two ships of war, three tenders, and a large number of flat-bottomed boats, coming up the river. They proceeded up as far as Tarry Town, where they landed their men. This evening they were followed by one large man-of-war, five topsail vessels, and a large number of small craft. I have sent off parties to examine their route, and harass their march, if prudent.

General Parsons has gone down to reconnoitre. He has not yet returned; but by information from several different quarters, we have reason to believe they intend for this post. They are now making up, as we hear, for Croton Bridge. You will please to give such orders to the militia, in consequence thereof, as you shall think proper. I have sent the barge to you with this, and most sincerely wish you would come down as soon as convenient. I should have wrote you before, but I thought this movement only to drive off some cattle, &c. I am, dear Sir, with great regard,

Your most humble servant,

ISRAEL PUTNAM.

## GENERAL PUTNAM TO GOVERNOR CLINTON.

Paper Mills, 6 October, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL,

I am this moment returned from Fort Independence, and find the intelligence concerning a party of the enemy, which were said to have landed last night at that Fort, is without foundation. By the inhabitants, who live just by Fort Independence, I am informed that the enemy have landed betwixt King's Ferry and Dunderberg. If that is the case, they mean to attack Fort Montgomery by land, which when I am sure of, I shall immediately reinforce you.\*

I am, &amp;c.,

ISAAC PUTNAM.

## GENERAL PUTNAM TO GENERAL GATES.

Fishkill, eleven o'clock, A. M., 9 October, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL,

In my letter of yesterday, I acquainted you of the enemy's having possession of Fort Montgomery. Yesterday they proceeded up the river with their ships, galleys, flat-bottomed boats, &c., and landed a body at Fort Constitution, took possession of that post, and played round the *chevaux-de-frise* a little. I expect every moment to have information that they are advancing up.

Governor Clinton is on the west side of the river, with about four hundred Continental troops, which I sent him yesterday, and is exerting himself in collecting the militia. If they attempt to land on that side, he will oppose and annoy them as much as possible. If this side should be their object, I shall, with the remainder of the Continental troops and the Connecticut militia (which, I am happy to inform you, came in yesterday and the day before in great numbers, but, I am sorry to say, they already begin to run away), oppose them every way in my power. Certain it is, that they mean, at all events, to join Ge-

\* The assault on Fort Montgomery and Fort Clinton took place the same day, October 6th. See the particulars in Washington's Writings, Vol. V. p. 471.

neral Burgoyne without delay. They are on a desperate point; and I dare say that their orders are positive to join the Northern army, at all risks. General Clinton commands them in person. He has two general officers with him, and, I believe, between five and six thousand men. If they should proceed by water, I shall do every thing in my power to arrive at Albany before them. Weighing the *chevaux-de-frise*, I do not think is a matter of any moment to them. They can take a fair wind, and, with their flat-bottomed boats, which all have sails, go to Albany, or Half-Moon, with great expedition, and, I believe, without any opposition. Would it not be a matter of great importance to send, if you can possibly spare them, a detachment from your army towards Albany, or some advantageous ground, to prevent them from getting between you and me? For, if they should come on your rear, the situation of your army would be disagreeable.

The loss of Fort Montgomery has, instead of depressing the spirits of the country, animated them. So many forts and strongholds have been given up without fighting, that they began to despair, and thought that our troops would not face the enemy. But now they begin to be convinced of the contrary; for the few brave men, who were in that fort, defended it five hours against at least five thousand of the enemy, determined on carrying the post. The garrison, in the whole, did not amount to more than six hundred. Notwithstanding the great superiority of the enemy, our troops never surrendered the fort, but fought, from one redoubt to another, after the enemy had got into the fort; and, when they could do no more, they fought their way through, and most of them made their escape. Colonel Dubois, who had a wound with a bayonet in his neck, has mustered nearly two hundred of his men, who were with him in the action, many of whom have slight wounds with bayonets and swords, but are in high spirits, and, I hope, will effect something clever.

I am, &c.,

ISRAEL PUTNAM.

P. S. If there are any of the militia in your quarter that yet remain at home, pray let them be mustered.

## GENERAL PUTNAM TO GOVERNOR CLINTON.

Fishkill, 12th of Oct., P. M., 9 October, 1777.

DEAR GOVERNOR,

Upon your letter, and some intelligence I received from below, I am fully of opinion the enemy intended a desperate effort to relieve General Burgoyne. I had the advice of the General Officers here, and we were of opinion, that to keep our force collected would be the best means of preserving our safety. As it is uncertain which side of the river the enemy will take, and having it in their power to make their election (in which we shall be unable to follow them), to throw our main force on the west side of the river would leave our principal stores a prey, and expose the resources of this and the Northern army to be cut off.

I have thought it advisable to order Colonel Brinkerhoff's regiment immediately to march and join you; and, should the enemy succeed in weighing the *chevaux-de-frise*, and proceed up the river, I should think it advisable for you to proceed to Albany with despatch; and, should the number of cannon you have incumber your march, you will convey as many of them as you shall think proper to some place of safety, and proceed on with the rest. The militia of Connecticut, I hear, are coming in. I shall do every thing in my power to oppose the enemy, and to give succour to you, trusting that, through the smiles of Heaven, we shall yet be free. With great esteem and respect,

I am, your obedient, humble servant,

ISRAEL PUTNAM.

## GOVERNOR CLINTON TO GENERAL GATES.

New Windsor, 9 October, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL,

Immediately after our late misfortune at Fort Montgomery, I wrote the Legislature of this State the particulars, requesting them, without delay, to forward them to you. My hurry, at that time, and since, prevented my answering your favor of the 4th instant until now; since which, the enemy have taken possession of Fort Constitution, and are, at this time, not far below the *chevaux-de-frise*.

My guards fell in with, and took two spies from General Clinton, going to Burgoyne. One of them confessed, that his orders were to make all possible despatch, and inform General Burgoyne that he had got Fort Montgomery, the key of America, and that he was prepared to weigh the *chevaux-de-frise*; and that he, Burgoyne, might now proceed, as all obstacles in the river were removed. He further says, that Clinton is determined to push up the river to relieve Burgoyne from his present difficulty. The inclosed confession of Taylor will give you some idea of their past manœuvres and future intentions.

If I have been rightly informed, your army is now so numerous that you can with safety order a part of it to establish a post at, or this side, Albany. In that case, if they move up, General Putnam, who is collecting a large body of the Connecticut militia on the opposite shore, will be able to join them. I shall endeavour to keep between them and your army, with two Continental regiments and some militia; and I hope, by this means, to keep them from Albany. Indeed, I am sure it can be done, provided you establish a post on this side for us to retire to. I cannot, at present, ascertain the number lost at Fort Montgomery. My brother, General Clinton, who received a wound in his thigh, with a number of other officers, and two hundred of Dubois's regiment, made their escape after the enemy were in possession of the fort, and have come in safe.

We have just received intelligence that General Washington attacked the enemy, last Saturday, on Chestnut Hill, near Philadelphia, defeated, and drove them through Germantown. Night coming on, he withdrew, and renewed the attack early on Sunday morning, and had gained the victory.\* We have as yet received no authenticated accounts of the action.

Colonel Lamb, and most of his officers who were with me at the fort, also escaped.

I am, dear Sir, &c.,

GEORGE CLINTON.

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\* This report was not entirely correct.

## GENERAL PUTNAM TO GOVERNOR CLINTON.

Continental Ferry, 15 October, 1777.

DEAR SIR,

The shipping, moving up the river, must fully convince us that their intentions are for Albany. It is, therefore, a matter of the utmost importance for us immediately to fix upon what manner we shall dispose of our troops. If we were convinced that General Gates was able to oppose them, I think we ought not to lose one moment, but march immediately down to King's Bridge.

I wrote General Gates on Sunday, and begged of him to acquaint me with his situation. Would it not, therefore, be prudent to keep our troops at Fishkill until I receive his answer? Your immediate opinion will oblige, dear Sir,

Your very humble servant,

ISRAEL PUTNAM.

SIR,—Since the General wrote the within, he has received yours; and I am directed by him to acquaint your Excellency, that he agrees with you in opinion, that moving up the river will be the most practicable method to be taken. The General intends moving up immediately; and I am, in haste,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

T. YATES, *Adjutant*.

## GENERAL PUTNAM TO GOVERNOR CLINTON.

Three miles above Fishkill, 16 October, 1777.

DEAR GOVERNOR,

I received your agreeable favor, and congratulate you on the glorious intelligence it contains of the capture of General Burgoyne.\* I have halted my troops, who were on their march northward, and desirous of doing every thing to subserve our important cause, and bring our struggles to a happy and speedy issue. I should be glad of your opinion respecting my future movements—whether I shall proceed to Albany, or remain to watch the motions of the enemy on the river, and protect the

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\* This intelligence was somewhat premature. The Convention of Saratoga was not signed till the 16th of October.



shore, or move immediately down to attack King's Bridge, leaving all the York militia in Dutchess county to guard the river. General Parsons, with about two thousand troops, is at Peekskill. My troops will halt upon the road where they are, till I receive your advice in the premises, which I request may be as speedy as possible; also, that you would acquaint me whether you will probably be able to afford any assistance, in case it should be thought advisable to move down to the Bridge. With esteem and respect, I am, dear Sir,

Your obedient, humble servant,

ISRAEL PUTNAM.

P. S. If you should advise going to the Bridge, I desire Colonel Lamb would come down.

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GOVERNOR CLINTON TO GENERAL PUTNAM.

Marbletown, seven miles from Kingston,

17 October, 1777.

SIR,

I received your favor of the 16th. I am sorry to inform you, that by a letter from General Gates, of the 15th, the enemy had not surrendered. You do me the honor to ask my opinion respecting your future movements. It is needless and impossible for me to advise; because, having once settled our plan and afterwards deviated from it, the concerting any future measures might be productive of ruin to one of us, if deprived of those succours and that support, which form a part of the general plan of operations. My opinion of your attack at King's Bridge is, that it will be utterly inefficacious.

For the rest, as your operations must be governed by circumstances, I can only inform you of facts. Kingston was burnt yesterday afternoon, because I had not troops to defend it. Two prisoners tell me that Albany is the enemy's object. If I advance much farther northward, it will be in the power of the enemy to ruin my little corps by landing above and below me, as I shall then have the Catskill Mountains to the west, and Hudson's River to the east. I expect every instant to hear that Rhinebeck is in flames. I have the honor to be,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

GEORGE CLINTON.

P.S. I trust you must have received General Gates's letter of the 17th, of which he sent me a copy, in which he approves of the plan of removing our armies up the river on each side.

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GENERAL PUTNAM TO GOVERNOR CLINTON.

Head-Quarters, Red Hook, 29 October, 1777.

SIR,

By the inclosed copies, the originals of which were taken yesterday, on their passage to New York, your Excellency will be able to form some judgment of the enemy's intentions, and what is best to be done, as far as circumstances will admit. Would it not answer a very valuable purpose to get the guns out of the row-galley that is scuttled in Esopus Creek, as they may be turned to the annoyance of the enemy, and prevent their getting possession of them? If your Excellency has no capital objection to the measure, I could wish that it might be carried into execution as soon as possible.

I have this morning written to General Gates for some heavy cannon on travelling carriages, with fixed ammunition, and Continental troops, which if I receive, I expect to be able to oblige them to retire below the *chevaux-de-frise*. Whenever the cannon arrive, you shall be advised previous to any operation, in order that we may act in conjunction as much as circumstances will permit. I am, with great regard, your Excellency's

Most obedient and very humble servant,

ISRAEL PUTNAM.

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GENERAL PUTNAM TO GOVERNOR CLINTON.

Fishkill, 27 October, 1777.

DEAR GOVERNOR,

As I am informed by your brother, General James Clinton, with whom I had the pleasure to dine to-day, that you were at Pleasant Valley, this waits on you to desire your advice and counsel at head-quarters, with all convenient despatch, upon some interesting matters, as the enemy have evacuated Peckskill, Fort Montgo-

mery, and all adjacent posts, and gone down the river with their whole fleet. With esteem and respect, I am, affectionately,

Your obedient, humble servant,

ISRAEL PUTNAM.

GOVERNOR CLINTON TO GENERAL PUTNAM.

Pleasant Valley, 27 October, 1777.

DEAR SIR,

I am favored with yours of this date. I flattered myself I should have had the pleasure of seeing you ere now, as, when I left Kingston, it was my principal business; and, though it was dark when I crossed the river, I reached Poughkeepsie that night, when in hopes to have overtaken you there, but was too late, as you had left that the preceding day. Ever since I have been here, I have been so unwell as not to dare venture out, considering the badness of the weather; but the moment the rain ceases, I will set out for your quarters.

General Gates, in his letter of the 24th instant, gives me reason to believe a large part of his army are on the move down each side of the river. Part of them had reached Hurley yesterday. He supposed the enemy yet to be up the river near Red Hook, and intended to retake Fort Montgomery before they could get down to reënforce it. For this purpose he was forwarding a considerable train of artillery, and asked an interview with me at Coeyman's, this side of Albany, yesterday. I could not attend then for the reasons above, but wrote him, informing him of the different situation of the enemy, which will, of course, alter his intended plan. At the same time I suggested it as my opinion, that the enemy would not now attempt any thing capital up the river this season, but detach their main force to strengthen Howe at Philadelphia, to which grand scene we undoubtedly ought to turn our chief attention, for on our successes there every thing worth regarding depends.

Yours, sincerely,

GEORGE CLINTON.

## GENERAL GATES TO GOVERNOR CLINTON.

Albany, 29 October, 1777.

DEAR SIR,

As I have not heard a syllable from you, or General Putnam, for a week past, I conclude you are in no want of any further assistance from me. Colonel Malcom promised to write as soon as he saw your Excellency. I have a sloop gone with a flag of truce to New York, on board of which is the widow Cortlandt Schuyler, her family, servants, &c., with Lieutenant Swords and his family. The sloop is commanded by Captain Van Buren. Colonel H. B. Livingston, who went in the bateau that carried Lord Viscount Petersham, Aid-de-camp to Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, has my orders to see you upon his return from General Vaughan, to whom he carried a letter from me. Captain Van Buren will also make you his report as he passes New Windsor. I am exceedingly impatient to hear from the south and the south-west. I am happy to tell you, that General Lincoln and General Arnold are both in a fair way of recovery. I am.

Your Excellency's most affectionate, humble servant,

HORATIO GATES.

## GOVERNOR CLINTON TO GENERAL GATES.

Fishkill, ten o'clock at night, 30 October, 1777.

DEAR SIR,

I arrived here about noon, when I met your favor of the 25th instant. My letter of the 20th, informing you of the enemy's fleet having fallen down below New Windsor, must have reached you before this. I have, therefore, only to add, that the enemy have demolished Fort Montgomery, and all the other posts in the Highlands, and moved down with their whole force towards New York; and to ask how I am to dispose of the troops belonging to your department, which you have been so good as to place under my direction. As it is probable General Putnam may think it prudent to make an attempt against New York, I am the more anxious to have your directions in this respect, that I

may govern myself accordingly. I am, with the highest esteem and respect,

Your affectionate, humble servant,

GEORGE CLINTON.

P. S. Your troops had not reached New Windsor yet. The last I heard of them, they were at Kingston, since which, to this day, I believe the weather has prevented their moving.

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GENERAL GATES TO GOVERNOR CLINTON.

Albany, 2 November, 1777.

SIR,

Upon my return last night from Coeyman's, I had the pleasure to receive your Excellency's letter of the 30th of last month. If Sir Henry Clinton is directed to reënforce the army of Sir William Howe, which I believe to be the case, he will either land his troops at Amboy, and march by the lower road to Mount Holly, to support any designed attack upon Fort Mifflin, and the fortified pass of the Delaware River; or he will land at Elizabethtown, and march by Brunswick and Princeton to Trenton, in order to facilitate Sir William Howe's retreat across the Delaware, and through the Jerseys. In either attempt, I am clearly of opinion that all the troops I sent to your assistance, with all that can properly, from your neighbourhood, be added to them, should march without delay to Morristown, and for their further operations, be governed, in great measure, by the movements of the enemy. Of these, the Commanding Officer should procure the best intelligence.

If Sir Henry Clinton marches towards Mount Holly, our army will, of course, move directly to Princeton, and hang upon his rear and right flank. If he marches towards Trenton, our army will march to Somerset Court-House, and be ready to move, as he moves, towards Trenton: our General carefully acquainting General Washington with his own, and the enemy's motions, and receiving his directions for the coöperation of his army.

The Governor of the Jerseys should, at the same time, be requested to order the militia of that State to second the motions of our army. If Colonel Morgan and his rifle regiment have

marched, it would be right to send an express to stop them at Van Camp's, and order him to march from thence to Sussex Court-House and Morristown.

The heavy brass artillery I sent down the river, should be sent up again by water, or so disposed as to be secured from any surprise. The light brass field-guns, which you mentioned in a former letter, should be sent with the troops to Morristown. I have the best reason to believe, that, with the troops I have here, I can secure every thing this way until June, and perhaps do more.

If the public affairs of this State do not require your Excellency's immediate attendance upon them, I wish you could be spared to command the army to be assembled at Morristown. But if your meeting the Legislature here cannot be dispensed with, I wish General Parsons might be ordered for that service, and now take the liberty to recommend it to General Putnam by this express. Nevertheless, I wish you would immediately cross the river to General Putnam, and show him this letter, and confer with him upon this important movement of the troops.

As I have sent General Putnam a very fine brigade from hence, with two excellent regiments of Connecticut militia, I think he will be able to spare one brigade of Continental troops from his side, with General Parsons.

I utterly disapprove of any attempt upon New York, knowing that while the enemy's ships of force occupy the East and North Rivers, and there is a tolerable garrison on the Isthmus, the taking the city would be very doubtful; and, when taken, it would be found without any military stores of consequence; for those, you may be assured, are afloat; and it is also so commanded from the water, that it cannot be held, until we are superior at sea.

If you cannot wait upon General Putnam yourself, send him a copy of this letter, and your sentiments thereupon, with my letter to him inclosed. I am,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

HORATIO GATES.

## COLONEL HAMILTON TO GENERAL PUTNAM.

Head-Quarters, New Windsor, 9 November, 1777.

SIR,

I cannot forbear confessing, that I am astonished and alarmed beyond measure, to find that all his Excellency's views have been hitherto frustrated, and that no single step of those I mentioned to you has been taken to afford him the aid he absolutely stands in need of, and by delaying which, the cause of America is put to the utmost conceivable hazard.

I so fully explained to you the General's situation, that I could not entertain a doubt you would make it the first object of your attention to reënforce him with that speed the exigency of affairs demanded; but, I am sorry to say, he will have too much reason to think other objects, in comparison with that insignificant, have been uppermost. I speak freely and emphatically, because I tremble at the consequences of the delay that has happened. General Clinton's reënforcement is probably by this time with Mr. Howe. This will give him a decisive superiority over our army. What may be the issue of such a state of things, I leave to the feelings of every friend to his country, capable of foreseeing consequences. My expressions may perhaps have more warmth than is altogether proper; but they proceed from the overflowing of my heart, in a matter where I conceive this Continent essentially interested. I wrote to you from Albany, and desired you would send a thousand Continental troops of those first proposed to be left with you. This, I understand, has not been done. How the noncompliance can be answered to General Washington, you can best determine.

I now, Sir, in the most explicit terms, by his Excellency's authority, give it as a positive order from him, that all the Continental troops under your command may be immediately marched to King's Ferry, there to cross the river, and hasten to reënforce the army under him.

The Massachusetts militia are to be detained instead of them, until the troops coming from the northward arrive. When they do, they will replace, as far as I am instructed, the troops you shall send away in consequence of this requisition. The General's idea of keeping troops this way does not extend farther than covering the country from any little irruptions of small parties, and carrying on the works necessary for the security of the river. As to attacking New York, that he thinks ought to be



out of the question at present. If men could be spared from the other really necessary objects, he would have no objections to attempting a diversion by way of New York, but nothing farther.

As the times of the Massachusetts and New Hampshire militia will soon expire, it will be proper to call in time for a reënforcement from Connecticut. Governor Clinton will do all in his power, to promote objects in which the State he commands in is so immediately concerned. Generals Glover's and Patterson's brigades are on their way down. The number of Continental troops necessary for this post will be furnished out of them.

I cannot but have the fullest confidence you will use your utmost exertions to execute the business of this letter; and I am, with great respect, Sir,

Your most obedient,

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

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GENERAL PUTNAM TO GOVERNOR CLINTON.

Head-Quarters, King's Street, 10 November, 1777.

DEAR SIR,

The night before last I arrived at this place, and shall this day proceed down towards the Plains. Yesterday, General Parsons and myself were down at Eastchester, and within three miles of King's Bridge. From every appearance, the enemy seem much frightened. They have called in all their outguards, and collected their main force at the Bridge.

Deserters come in very fast; and, from every account I am able to procure, their strength at the Bridge is about two thousand five hundred. Inclosed you have a late paper, which, in my opinion, paints their distress in many particulars. When opportunity will permit, I shall be glad to see you down here. My compliments to your brother; and I am, dear Sir,

Your very humble servant,

ISRAEL PUTNAM.

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ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Manor of Livingston, 14 January, 1778.

DEAR SIR,

I was honored with your Excellency's favor of the 27th of December, and am greatly obliged by your favorable mention

of my brother. In my recommendation of him, I was influenced more by my hope of rendering him further useful to his country, than by any partial desire of serving him, without having the most distant wish of engaging your Excellency in any promise that might lead to a preference, to which he is not justly entitled, since neither his interest nor honor renders his continuance in the army necessary, his fortune putting him above the first, and the reputation he has already acquired, together with your Excellency's approbation, fully satisfying the last.

That I may not, however, seem to have been without warrant in my recommendation of him, I take the liberty to inclose to your Excellency an extract of a letter to him, written under General Arnold's directions, by a gentleman of his family, he being unable to hold the pen himself. After a warm recommendation of his conduct, both in the camp and the field, and giving him and his regiment a full share of the honor of the battle of the 19th of September (in which General Arnold, not being present, writes only from the report of those who were), he adds, "On the 7th of October, the conduct of your corps fell more immediately under the inspection of General Arnold. He thinks it but justice to you and them to observe, that great part of our success on that day was owing to the gallant part they acted in storming the enemy's works, and the alertness and good order they observed in the pursuit." I did not, in my letter to your Excellency, allude to the dispute between Colonels Cortlandt and Livingston, having never interested myself further therein than to endeavour to prevail with my brother to yield up that preference to which I conceived Colonel Cortlandt's seniority entitled him, though it may, in some measure, be superseded by the resolutions of Congress.

But I ask your Excellency's pardon for permitting any thing of a private nature to trespass long upon that time, which you generously devote to the public, and will proceed to one of more general concern, in which also, as an individual, I am deeply interested—I mean the defence of this State, and the erection of works on Hudson's River. I have seen your Excellency's letter on that subject to Governor Clinton. I wish the delicate situation in which he stands would have permitted him to have been more explicit in his answer, which he has also communicated to me. This I conceive the general permission, which your Excellency has given me, to write my sentiments fully, and the attention with which you have honored my letters, together with the

losses, which, through mismanagement, I have already sustained, in some measure entitle me to be.

The military arrangement in this department is far from being satisfactory. The offices of Commissary, Quarter-master, &c., are generally unsupplied with money; public credit is stretched beyond all reasonable bounds; certificates, which are the only cash of these several offices, have lost their credit, from the uncertainty and difficulty that attend their payment; and force alone affords a scanty supply to the army. This renders it impossible to lay up magazines, opens a wide door for frauds, and is attended with the most mischievous effects upon husbandry, and the tempers of the people. I learn, by a letter from Mr. Lee, the demands of the Southern army. No great quantity of cattle are raised in this State, except in the county of Westchester, from whence the enemy draw considerable supplies, though nothing would be easier than to cover it from their depredations, and to supply our army at Peekskill from it. Flour may be procured, when the Commissaries are properly supplied with money, and their whole attention turned to the business of their department. It would be happy for us, if those engaged in the civil departments of the army were bound by an oath not to engage in trade.

But I am wandering from my subject. Your Excellency is fully impressed with the importance of fortifying Hudson's River. The want of men and money must make this work go on heavily, or, indeed, by leaving it unfinished, waste what shall be expended. Your Excellency will see the necessity of pressing Congress for supplies of both, more especially the last. I would submit it to your Excellency, whether it would not be more advisable to select a body of the ablest men out of the general regiments at Peekskill, to carry on the works, allowing them additional pay as a compensation for their labor and the wear of their clothes, than to work in the ordinary way. Might not the troops stationed at Albany, also, be drawn down to that post, or part of them, at least?

Your Excellency is not ignorant of the extent of General Putnam's capacity and diligence; and, how well soever these may qualify him for the management of this work, a most important command, the prejudices to which his imprudent lenity to the disaffected, and a too great intercourse with the enemy, have given rise, have greatly injured his influence. How far the loss of Fort Montgomery, and the subsequent ravages of the enemy, are to be imputed to him, I will not venture to say, as this will necessarily

be determined by a Court of Inquiry, whose determinations I would not anticipate. Unfortunately for him, the current of popular opinions, in this and the neighbouring States, and, as far as I can learn, in the troops under his command, runs strongly against him. For my own part, I respect his bravery and former services, and sincerely lament that his patriotism will not suffer him to take that repose, to which his advanced age and past service justly entitle him. Your Excellency sees the necessity of spirit and activity, in this department of our officers, who in a fertile genius can find resources against the multiplied wants of this situation. Cannon should be procured, and the forges set at work in making a chain. Twelve or fourteen twelve-pounders may be obtained at Salisbury furnace. Carriages should be prepared. In short, Sir, unless we make use of the present moment, the well-affected will be unwilling to remain in this State next summer.

Having drawn this out to a most unreasonable length, I must fear trespassing upon you, and defer some other matters upon which I propose writing to your Excellency. In the mean while, I must only flatter myself that your Excellency will not only excuse, but consider the freedom with which this is written as a new proof of the confidence I have ever found myself inclined to repose in your Excellency, and which you have so frequently encouraged as to persuade me that I run no other hazard in speaking freely of men and measures, than that of sometimes trying your Excellency's patience. We have various accounts of their being in great dread of an unwelcome visit at New York during this winter. I suppose their apprehensions will be somewhat allayed by the arrival of the seventy-first and three Hessian regiments, which have lately got in from Philadelphia. I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

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GENERAL WASHINGTON TO ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

Head-Quarters, Valley Forge, 12 March, 1778.

DEAR SIR,

I should have answered your letter of the 14th of January before this time, had I not been daily in hopes that I should be able to give you a satisfactory account of a change of men and measures in the North River department. It has not been

an easy matter to find a just pretence for removing an officer from his command, where his misconduct rather appears to result from want of capacity, than from any real intention of doing wrong; and it is, therefore, as you observe, to be lamented, that he cannot see his own defects, and make an honorable retreat from a station in which he only exposes his own weakness.

Proper measures are taking to carry on the inquiry into the loss of Fort Montgomery, agreeably to the directions of Congress; and it is more than probable, from what I have heard, that the issue of that inquiry will afford just grounds for a removal of General P. But whether it does or not, the prejudices of all ranks in that quarter against him are so great, that he must, at all events, be prevented from returning. I hope to introduce a gentleman in his place, if the general course of the service will admit of it, who will be perfectly agreeable to the State and to the public. In the mean time, I trust that General Parsons will do every thing in his power to carry on the works, which, from his last accounts, are in more forwardness than I had expected.

I wish that all the men in the upper part of the river had been drawn down to the Highlands, instead of being kept to carry on an expedition, in which I never was consulted, but which I saw from the beginning could never succeed, from a variety of reasons, which it would be needless to give to you, or any man acquainted with the state of the country through which it was to have passed. Those who were the most sanguine, I fancy, now see the impracticability of it.

Peekskill and the neighbouring posts were, by a resolve of Congress, included in the Northern department, and the care of carrying on the works put under the direction of the officer commanding in that district. General Gates being, soon after the resolve, called to the Board of War, he had no opportunity of doing any thing towards it. Whether there will be any alteration in the extent of the command this campaign, I cannot tell. But, if it falls again into that department more immediately under my particular command, you may depend that all the attention due to posts so important shall be paid to them.

I am, &c.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.















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